the nuclear conspiracy

DOCUMENTATION ON INITIATIVES BY
THE ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES
WITH REGARD TO NUCLEAR COLLABORATION
BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY,
FRANCE & OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES &
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

the nuclear conspiracy

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THE NUCLEAR CONSPIRACY

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ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES

THE COVER was designed by Miss Deborah Mulaha, a young Kenyan artist. It depicts the catastrophe which threatens the African continent as a result of the nuclear technology which the white minority regime in South Africa has acquired. The large white figure represents the Western powers who are nursing South Africa with technology and capital in order to ensure the perpetual exploitation of that country's human and material resources.

The red figure depicts the explosion which would erupt when those weapons are used, inflicting bloody and tragic consequences not only on Southern Africa but on all of Africa and the entire world.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We acknowledge with gratitude the many individuals and institutions who contributed to the publication of this book.

We are indebted to the African National Congress of South Africa which first exposed to the world South Africa's nuclear build up; and to the German Anti-Apartheid Committee for its persistent efforts in focussing the attention of the international news media upon the extensive co-operation — political, military, economic and cultural — subsisting between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa.

Finally we would like to record our appreciation to all those who continue to identify with the forces struggling for justice and human dignity in South Africa.

Burgess Carr
General Secretary
All Africa Conference of Churches

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INTRODUCTION

Towards the end of 1975 the African National Congress of South Africa published well documented revelations that certain industrial firms in the Federal Republic of Germany, with the full knowledge and active support of their government in Bonn, were participating in the development of nuclear technology in South Africa. The All Africa Conference of Churches viewed this development with grave concern and considered it a most dangerous and unwarranted escalation of the racial tension in Southern Africa, especially in the light of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of that region to liberate themselves from white racist minority rule and the continued stubborn defiance of world public opinion, particularly on the part of South Africa. The AACC therefore initiated talks with the Evangelical Church of Germany (E.K.D.) as part of a concerted campaign against nuclear collaboration with South Africa. The result was the Arnoldshain Consultation, held May 12-13, 1976 and a subsequent appeal by the EKD to the Federal Government in Bonn to bring pressure to bear upon those industrial firms who were involved in nuclear cooperation with South Africa to stop. We do not know as yet what kind of response the EKD has received from their Government.

However, other developments proved that the AACC and the German churches were even too late tackling this issue, for just as the AACC delegation was making final preparations for the consultation, South African Prime Minister John Vorster informed the American magazine NEWSWEEK that South Africa already had the capacity to enrich uranium and, beyond that, she could "defend herself with nuclear weapons."

Moreover, no sooner had we left Arnoldshain than the American firm, General Electric announced that is was seeking permission from the United States Congress to supply South Africa with two nuclear reactors. through a consortium with a Dutch company. At this point, the AACC found itself fighting on many fronts.

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States was immediately contacted and urged to dissuade Congress from granting such permission. Finally, towards the end of that same month (May, 1976) South Africa announced that it was no longer pursuing the deal with General Electric and its Dutch partners, and was now buying the two nuclear reactors from France. Cables were sent to the churches in Europe expressing the AACC's grave concern and urging them to campaign actively against the deal. The

Protestant Federation of France condemned the deal but the French government still went ahead with it anyway.

This book is a record of the AACC's concerted campaign against nuclear collaboration with South Africa. It provides extensive information compiled by the ANC and Anti-Aparthied Movement of West Germany on the involvement of the Federal Republic of Germany — both at the level of government and industry — in the development of nuclear technology in South Africa; as well as the numerous attempts by German government officials to cover up and confuse the issues.

We believe that this book could not have been published at a more propitious moment, when the Federal Republic of Germany has just issued a memorandum to the Organisation of African Unity denying any nuclear and military collaboration whatsoever with South Africa. The evidence contained in this book will no doubt invalidate such denials and help the liberation forces as well as all those who are involved in the relentless struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and oppression in Southern Africa to make appropriate and relevant decisions as well as enable them to distinguish clearly between Africa's friends from Africa's enemies.

Mr. Vorster's own assertion that South Africa can enrich uranium makes it clear that what the South Africans have learned from the Germans in this business has not been in vain. Considering that it is through enrichment of uranium isotope U 235 that most atomic bombs are made, Mr. Vorster's boast that South Africa can defend itself with nuclear weapons cannot be taken as a bluff. It has to be taken with grave seriousness and anxiety. With West German assistance, and now with French collaboration, nuclear technology has been introduced for the first time in Africa South of the Sahara. Early last year the South African parliament passed a bill making it 'legal' for the racist regime to invade any African country south of the Equator. A nuclear-armed South Africa means that the nations and peoples of Southern Africa in particular, but certainly the whole continent, is now subjected to nuclear blackmail. It is therefore no wonder that the Nigerian Federal Government is itself thinking of acquiring nuclear technology.

The situation in South Africa today can easily ignite a third world war. And only the Federal Republic of Germany knows why, at this critical juncture, she could have the temerity to inject such catastrophic technology into the area and, worst still, on the side of the oppressors, racists and exploiters. West Germany would be compelled to share much of the blame for starting such a war — in the same way it did in 1914 and 1936.

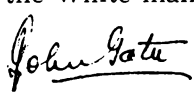
This warning we are sounding today — this voice in the wilderness — is reminiscent of the one sounded by a great African statesman, the late Emperor Haile Sellasie of Ethiopia who, after his country was innocently invaded by the facist regime of Mussolini in 1936, foretold the terrible holocaust which was about to be inflicted upon humanity. No one took him seriously until it was too late: six million Jews had been massacred and country after country in Europe crushed by the forces of the Third Reich. The massacre of hundreds of innocent and defenselesss children in Soweto by the South African police in recent months is only a foretelling that the Pretoria regime will not hesitate to pull the nuclear trigger when it feels that its abominable system of apartheid is being seriously threatenend. We can only hope we shall be proved wrong.

But the liberation struggle in Southern Africa will go on in spite of Southern Africa's nuclear weapons. Whether that struggle will be peaceful or bloody is a matter to be determined only by White South Africa and her allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Here, the question of investments is of particular relevance. For the structures of apartheid would not last a month if the West decided to impose a trade and economic embargo against Pretoria.

Another issue which is documented in this book concerns interchurch relationships between the German-speaking Lutheran Churches in South Africa and Namibia and the African Lutheran Churches in those countries. This issue was discussed at length in Arnoldshain, and EKD promised to review its relationship with the German-speaking churches, with a view to improving relations between German-speaking and Black Lutherans in the two countries.

To all those genuinely concerned with the establishing of true and lasting peace based on justice and human dignity in Southern Africa, we commend this book and, at the same time, express our appreciation for all their efforts in the past and present toward this realization. We hope that all people of goodwill will continue to fight for justice and human dignity in Southern Africa.

The All Africa Conference of Churches, for her part, is fully committed to this goal and will not rest until the Black man is free from oppression and exploitation and the White man from the stigma of being a racist and oppressor.



JOHN G. GATU

Chairman, All Africa Conference of Churches
NAIROBI, FEBRUARY 1, 1977

TELEGRAM OF REV. JOHN GATU, AACC CHAIRMAN, TO BISHOP HELMUT CLASS, PRESIDENT, EKD COUNCIL OF BISHOPS

BISHOP HELMUT CLASS
CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL OF BISHOPS
EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF GERMANY
GEROKSTRASSE 49
7 STUTTGART
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

RECALLING LETTER OF OUR TANANARIVE GENERAL COMMITTEE APRIL 1973 TO CHURCHES IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA COMMA AFRICAN CHURCHES AS MUCH AS OUR NATIONS AND PEOPLES ARE GENUINELY SHOCKED AND HORRIFIED BY CURRENT REVELATIONS THAT STATE-OWNED AND STATE-CONTROLLED INDUSTRIAL FIRMS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY COMMA WITH THE AGREEMENT AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN BONN HAVE BEEN COLLABORATING WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN URANIUM ENRICHMENT PROJECT DESIGNED TO GIVE PRETORIA POLITICAL AND MILITARY NUCLEAR CAPABILITY STOP THIS DEVELOPMENT WILL SERVE CERTAINLY TO REINFORCE INQUITOUS APARTHEID POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND WE WARN THAT THIS COULD LEAD TO MOST DANGEROUS ESCALATION OF THE RACIAL CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA INTO POSSIBLE FULL SCALE NUCLEAR WAR ON OUR CONTINENT STOP

WE ARE AWARE OF YOUR CHURCH'S IMPLACCABLE OPPOSITION TO OUR SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ON THE GROUNDS THAT YOU ARE OPPOSED TO VIOLENCE AND MILITARISM STOP WE THEREFORE EARNESTLY URGE THAT COMMA CONSISTENT WITH THIS STANCE COMMA THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN GERMANY WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING PRESSURE UPON YOUR GOVERNMENT AND GERMAN INDUSTRIAL FIRMS TO DESIST FROM ENABLING THE

APARTHEID REGIME IN PRETORIA TO BE IN A POSITION TO THREATEN THE ENTIRE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND WORLD PEACE WITH VIOLENT NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE STOP WE FURTHER URGE THAT ACTION TOWARDS THIS END BE TAKEN BY THE SYNOD OF THE EKD CURRENTLY MEETING IN FREIBURG STOP

...../2

WITH FRATERNAL CHRISTIAN GREETINGS

John Gatu

JOHN GATU
CHAIRMAN, GENERAL COMMITTEE,
ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES.

BISHOP CLASS'S REPLY TO REV. GATU

Translation

(Original letter in German)

Express/Registered

Mr. John Gatu
Chairman, General Committee
All Africa Conference of Churches
P.O. Box 20301
Nairobi/Kenya.

Mr. Chairman, Dear brother John Gatu,

In response to your cable of November 4th, 1975 I would first of all like to state the following: The Council of EKD, supported by the Synod and all member churches of EKD, has in the past decades unremittingly observed the development of nuclear armament in the world and has expressed its standpoint in numerous declarations. The Council did not miss any opportunity to discuss the entire issue with the Federal Government and leading sectors of our society. Much to our satisfaction the Federal Republic of Germany, since her foundation, renounced the establishment of her own nuclear arms potential and ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty. In fulfilling the obligations thus taken on, our Government requests energetically that in the case of supply of nuclear power stations the controls as carried out by the International Atomic Energy Organisation in Vienna be applied.

The receipt of your cable has been taken by us as a renewed occasion to take up official negotiations with Federal Government. In addition we made inquiries with a number of personalities of an internationally acknowledged serious reputation who possess the required knowledge of the facts. We could not find any foundation for your exceptionally far-reaching charges. We therefore have to reject your reproaches and to ask you not to repeat them again in future. We shall inform the delegates of EKD for (the WCC Assembly) Nairobi about our current findings.

With fraternal greetings,

Yours,

sign. Helmut Class.

EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE IN DEUTSCHLAND

DER VORSITZENDE DES RATES

Mr. John Gatu
Chairman General Committee
ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE
OF CHURCHES

Pioneer House,
Government Road,
P. O. Box 20301
Nairobi, Kenya

Eilboten !

Einschreiben !

Landesbischof D. Helmut Claß
7 Stuttgart 1, Postfach 276

10. November 1975/Hpt

Sehr geehrter Herr Vorsitzender, lieber Bruder John Gatu,

in Beantwortung Ihres Telegramms vom 4. November 1975 möchte ich zunächst folgendes feststellen: Der Rat der EKD hat, unterstützt von der Synode und allen Gliedkirchen, in den verflossenen Jahrzehnten unablässig die Entwicklung der atomaren Rüstung in der Welt beobachtet und in zahlreichen Erklärungen zu ihr Stellung genommen. Er unterließ keine Möglichkeit, den gesamten Fragenkreis mit der Bundesregierung und den führenden Gruppen unseres Landes zu erörtern. Zu unserer Genugtuung hat die Bundesrepublik Deutschland seit ihrer Gründung auf eine eigene Atomrüstung verzichtet und den Nicht-Verbreitungs-Vertrag (Atomsperrvertrag) ratifiziert. Im Vollzug dieser übernommenen Verpflichtungen verlangt unsere Regierung mit Nachdruck, daß bei Lieferung von Kernkraftwerken die von der Internationalen Atomenergie-Organisation in Wien durchzuführenden Kontrollen angewandt werden.

Wir haben Ihr Telegramm erneut zum Anlaß genommen, offizielle Verhandlungen mit der Bundesregierung aufzunehmen. Darüber hinaus haben wir Erkundigungen eingeholt bei einer Reihe von international als seriös anerkannten Persönlichkeiten, die die erforderliche Kenntnis der Fakten besitzen. Wir haben keine Begründung für Ihre ungewöhnlich weitgehenden Vorhalte finden können. Wir müssen Ihre Vorwürfe deshalb zurückweisen und Sie bitten, diese in Zukunft nicht mehr zu wiederholen. Wir werden die Nairobi-Delegierten der EKD aber über unsere bisherigen Feststellungen informieren.

Mit brüderlichen Grüßen

Ihr

Helmut Claß

Büro des Ratsvorsitzenden:
7 Stuttgart 1, Postfach 276
Gerokstraße 49
Telefon (0711) 24 48 71, Telex 07-21 939

Kirchenkanzlei der EKD:
3 Hannover 21, Postfach 210220
Herrenhäuser Straße 2 A
Telefon (0511) 71 60 41, Telex 09-28 445

REVEREND GATU'S REPLY TO BISHOP CLASS

18th December, 1975

Bishop Helmut Class,
Chairman of the Council of Bishops
Evangelical Church in Germany,
P.O. Box 276,
7 Stuttgart 1, FRG.
Germany.

Dear Bishop Class,

I write to acknowledge your letter of 10th November, 1975, in response to my telegram addressed to the Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany, concerning nuclear collaboration between South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany. I have not been able to write to you earlier because I was so deeply involved in the WCC 5th Assembly which has just ended last week.

I was appalled at the emotional tone and insulting contents of your letter. I frankly did not anticipate such a contemptuous reply to a matter of such serious gravity.

Before communicating with you we had carefully studied and given much thought to this matter. In addition to the Document published by the African National Congress of South Africa, we also had the Official Statement of the Federal German Ministry of Foreign Affairs (October 1975) and clippings from the International Press (including that of West Germany.) There was no necessity therefore for you to communicate to us the official position of the Federal Government in Bonn, attributing same to "a number of well-known people with an international reputation for trustworthiness..." (The substance of your first paragraph is identical to the second and third paragraphs on page 4 of the Statement No. 105-491.10 SUA 2458/75 distributed by the Federal Ministry of the Foreign Affairs in Bonn.)

The debate in the German Press on this matter reveals that the Foreign Ministry's attempts to cover up West Germany's nuclear dealing with South Africa contradict the claims of several spokesmen for the Federal Government that the Uranium enrichment project is of no military significance and therefore does not breach West Germany's ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Moreover, the clandestine nature of the whole affair strongly suggests a clear intention to establish South Africa as a convenient loop-hole in the international agreements to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

You must be aware by now that prominent members of the EKD delegation to the WCC 5th Assembly undertook in Nairobi, to carry out a responsible investigation into this matter after their return to Germany. They also had opportunity to discuss this and other matters pertaining to AACC/EKD relations with me and other officials of the AACC. Together we have agreed on the desirability for further discussions. We have therefore proposed to meet again early in the New Year. Dr. Held and Canon Carr were asked to work out the details for a meeting in Germany around March 1 - 3, 1976.

I look forward to this encounter in the hope that the tensions between the AACC and the EKD can be resolved, and our fraternal relations re-established on the basis of mutual respect and Christian love. Be assured that we are concerned about the best possible ways and means where we can witness to the world today together with you.

Yours sincerely,

John Gatu

J.G. Gatu,
Chairman, General Committee
All Africa Conference of Churches

NAIROBI STATEMENT BY BISHOP HILD AND BISHOP HELD

Germans pledge 'further look' at nuclear issue

IN a new development, two West German Church leaders yesterday promised to look further into the criticisms that have been made about German nuclear involvement in South Africa.

They also agreed to ask the Council of the EKD to "deal once more with this matter and initiate negotiations with the appropriate offices of the gov-

TURN TO BACK PAGE

GERMANS PLEDGE FURTHER LOOK

FROM PAGE ONE

ernment of the Federal Republic."

The statement came from the two most senior members of the West German Church delegation, Church President Helmut Hild, who is vice-president of the Council of the EKD, and President Heinz-Joachim Head of the Church Office of Foreign Affairs of the EKD. It follows a controversy between the All Africa Conference of Churches and the President of the EKD Council, Bishop Class, in which Bishop Class said he "rejected" AACC's request of the human churches to put pressure on their Government.

The two churchmen said the EKD was "greatly concerned about social and political developments in the Republic of South African Government . . ." "We also fear that the South African Government may use the results of nuclear research to reinforce an unchristian and inhumane system of apartheid."

They recalled EKD protests about human rights violations in South Africa and promised these would continue. "We shall do our best to make sure tha nuclea. co-operation with the Republic of South Africa will not contribute directly or indirectly to the build-up of nuclear weapons in Africa," they added.

At the same time, the Protestant Students' Parishes in the Federal Republic of Germany addressed a widely-distributed letter to Bishop D. Helmut Class, saying that they are "utmost dismayed at your response to the Chairman of the General Committee of the Panafrican Conference of Churches John Gatu, concerning our nuclear co-operation with White South Africa. We can't understand your attitude nor can we approve of it."

The letter added:

"According to your letter you made use of every possibility of discussing in detail the whole complex of questions with the Federal Government and the leading groups in the Federal Republic of Germany. Didn't you consult anybody of the opposite point of view, as the Federal Government and its leading groups are obviously prejudiced concerning this affair? Do you as Chairman of the Council really want to compromise the Protestant Churches of Germany in this manner? . . . . .

"We can't disregard completely facts that are repeatedly proved, and ignore the view of many respected scholars, journalists and representatives of the churches who have expressed themselves meantime on this affair. Do not disappoint the confidence which many Christians and non-Christians in the Federal Republic of Germany have placed in you."

COMMUNIQUE
OF THE COUNCIL OF EKD (Protestant Church in the FRG)
Meeting of December 20th, 1975
(in which the recent Assembly of the World Council of Churches was particularly discussed)

Excerpt
(Source: EPD - Protestant Press Service, ZA No. 246,
22nd December 1975 - page 5)

The Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi obtained special significance for the assessment of the problems of the African continent. The civil war in Angola and the racial conflicts which are at the verge of violent outbreak in several other African countries bind the churches to take part in the struggle for peaceful solutions. Since all other paths will with certainty lead into immeasurable catastrophies, the indications given in Nairobi in regard to possibilities to prevent such a development demand utmost attention. The Council of EKD sees the differences that arose at the beginning of the Nairobi conference over the matter of a nuclear co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa in this context. The Council is convinced that an improved mutual information and a discussion can surmount these misunderstandings and will therefore invite the leadership of the All Africa Conference of Churches for a thorough discussion next spring.

MADAME JEANNE MARTIN CISSE'S LETTER TO REV. GATU

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

POSTAL ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017
CABLE ADDRESS—ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE UNATIONS NEWYORK

REFERENCE: PO230 SOAF (2-2-1) 15 December 1975

Dear Mr. Gatu,

I acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the cable you addressed to Bishop Helmut Class, Chairman, Council of Bishops of the Evangelical Church of Germany, concerning collaboration in the nuclear field by industrial firms in the Federal Republic of Germany with South Africa.

The Special Committee took note of the cable at its 314th meeting held on 3 December.

The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the actions taken by the All Africa Conference of Churches in support of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, under the leadership of liberation movements, for freedom and in discouraging economic and other collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa.

The Special Committee looks forward to increasing co-operation with the All Africa Conference of Churches in the international campaign against apartheid.

Yours sincerely,

Jeanne Martin Cissé (Mme)
Chairman
Special Committee against Apartheid

Mr. John Gatu
Chairman
General Committee
All Africa Conference of Churches
Pioneer House
Government Road
P.O.Box 20301
Nairobi
KENYA

ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES
GENERAL COMMITTEE MEETING
FEBRUARY 18 - 26, 1976.

CAIRO - EGYPT.

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The General Committee of the All Africa Conference of Churches has heard a report on two recent developments in South Africa that pose a grave threat to peace in Africa. The first is the legitimation of South Africa's armed intervention in the Angola conflict. Recent legislation enacted by the South African parliament would allow that country to intervene anywhere in Africa, south of the Equator, where it identifies a potential threat to the perpetuation of racism and apartheid. The second has to do with well documented revelations that certain industrial firms, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany with the knowledge and tacit support of their Government, are participating in the development of nuclear technology for South Africa.

(1) The General Committee expresses its full support for the initiative already taken by our Chairman, the Rev. John Gatu, in raising the questions of nuclear collaboration between South Africa and West Germany with the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) through the Chairman of its Council of Bishops. We associate ourselves with the sentiments of regret and disappointment expressed by the Rev. John Gatu, at the insulting reply addressed to him by Bishop Helmut Class, Chairman of the EKD Council of Bishops. We welcome the initiative taken by certain members of the delegation from EKD at the World Council of Churches 5th Assembly by inviting the AACC to take part in consultation between EKD and the AACC on matters affecting the relations between them.

We authorize the officers of the AACC to accept this invitation. We urge them to ensure that the full range of issues related to the EKD's attitude towards West Germany's active support for apartheid in South Africa be thoroughly discussed.

(2) The General Committee **unreservedly condemns** South Africa's armed intervention in Angola and the threat of similar intervention elsewhere in Africa in future. We plead with our brothers and sisters in those Churches whose countries are allies of South Africa to do everything possible to prevent armed confrontation between South Africa and Independent Africa.

The hour is past midnight. The liberation of all the peoples of South Africa is now inevitable and certain. Only South Africa and her allies have the power to determine whether this liberation will come through peaceful negotiations or not. We urge South Africa to begin immediately the dismantling of the structures of apartheid as her unique contribution to building a secure peace for all the peoples of Africa and of the whole world.

We reaffirm our commitment to support the Liberation Movements in their just struggle against legalized violence, racist, oppression and exploitation in South Africa. We urge them to unite all their efforts, so that through solidarity in struggle, may hasten the daybreak of victory.

We pledge our prayers and support to those Churches and other groups inside South Africa who are working for peace through justice and liberation for the oppressed in their country.

PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY NUCLEAR CAPABILITY

New York, May 9, Reuter - South African Prime Minister John Vorster says Soviet policy in Africa aims at the encirclement of Western Europe by controlling its sources of raw materials, according to Newsweek magazine.

But the Soviet Union has not exactly been a shining example in this area, he said in an interview, published in the magazine's current edition.

This is where the U.S., with its vast potential, can play a major role and thwart Russia's goals on the African continent, which are nothing short of the encirclement of Western Europe by controlling its sources of raw materials.

Mr. Vorster also implied in the interview that South Africa was capable of defending itself with nuclear weapons.

"We are only interested in the peaceful application of nuclear power." he said. "But we can enrich uranium and we have the capability and we did not sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty."

NUCLEAR COOPERATION

The report from "Der Spiegel" which follows below is fairly comprehensive review of the involvement of the Federal Republic of Germany in the nuclear business, including the nuclear cooperation with **South Africa.** Since the report reveals a number of details about Bonn's policy and procedure on the subject in question, we decided to translate the text in full. (AAB)

A BOOMING BUSINESS - OR A BUSINESS WITH BOMBS?

Report about world-wide dealings in West-German atomic energy plants "Der Spiegel", Hamburg, No. 12/76, 15th March, 1976

Bonn has so far invested over DM 17 billion in atomic research. The investment has paid off: Atomic reactors are among West-German industry's export hits. However, because of the controversial trade, the Federal Republic of Germany is being suspected of helping developing countries to hold atom bombs.

The roles seemed to have been exchanged: travel-loving Economics Minister Hans Friderichs had hardly landed in Teheran, where he was to negotiate German oil and gas supplies, when the Shah conveyed his wishes: atomic power plants for Iran, "Made in West-Germany."

Not much later, in autumn last year, the scene was repeated in the desert emirate of Kuwait. The rulers of oil and sand wanted very much to order an atomic reactor of the type "Biblis" immediately. But Friderichs had to disappoint them: For the small country on the Persian Gulf (880,000 inhabitants) the German atomic reactor with 1,200 Megawatts - the most productive in the world - is much too big.

The pressurized water reactor at Biblis, which since early 1975 has been supplying energy to industry and about 2 million citizens from this town in Hessia, is on its way to becoming the top export of German industry.

Klaus Barthelt and Hans Hirschmann, chief salesmen of the producing company Kraftwerk-Union (KWU), live out of suitcases: They jet from Iran to **South Africa,** from the Soviet Union to Brazil, from Japan to China. Says Barthelt: "I even have to do business on Saturdays".

The Kraftwerk-Union, a subsidiary of the two electrical companies Siemens and AEG, can deliver up to six ready-to-use atomic plants a year. It has an orders backlog of DM 28 billion-the biggest of any German company. Its shares, still 100 percent in German hands, are sought after by buyers all over the world, from the French conglomerate Saint-Goban-Pont-á-Mousson to the Shah of Iran. With the

atomic treaty between Brazil and West-Germany (1975), KWU signed up the biggest deal in the history of German foreign trade: it will deliver 8 reactors and help with the construction of nuclear factories worth DM 12 billion.

The domestic atomic technology, boasts the "German Atomic Forum" (Deutsches Atom-forum),, an organization of the West-German atom lobby, has created "a new dimension". For Economics Minister Hans Friderichs, the reactors builders have achieved "the breakthrough into the world market." Through them, says Research Minister Hans Matthöfer, "the future is assured".

A booming business? Or rather a business with bombs?

Atomic energy for peaceful purposes is 95 percent identical with the manufacturing process for the A-bomb. From the waste products of reactors which will go onstream in the next two decades alone, a bomb a week can be manufactured, according to a study of the renowned Massachusetts Institute of Tecnology.

On May 18th, 1974, India indicated this tendency beyond doubt. On this day the country of famine and flood catastrophes exploded its first atomic explosive made from Plutonium derived from the operation of a normal atomic plant.

Since then the international demand for the "Candu" type reactor, which the Canadians had sold to India, has risen dramatically - Argentine, Pakistan and Korea have ordered the burner. And since then, secret services and military men expect the next atomic blast in one of those countries generally regarded as underdeveloped, which wish to cheat their way to great power status with a prestige detonation. Will it be Argentine, Pakistan, Korea, Iran, Israel or Brazil?

Bonn seems indifferent. The responsible politicians worry little, or mostly not at all that with the sale of complete nuclear factories, the production techniques and basic materials for A-bombs are also being exported; that states with highly dubious reputations are being helped with easy acquisition of bomb technology.

The apartheid state **South Africa** is receiving new chances of survival with advanced nuclear know-how from West-Germany. The military regime in Brazil is securing its leading position in South America with German atomic aid. German technology may aid the great power-addicted Shah to rise to an atomic superman in a politically unstable area.

The German Government, thankful for every big order which industry receives from abroad in a time of world-wide economic recession, shrinks from controlling the freedom of trade of businessmen. What applies to the arms trade - self-restriction in export according to a cabinet decision - has no validity in atomic trade. Here, private industry has an untouchable domain, and even Parliament is by-passed.

Bonn is satisfied with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which places the export of nuclear technology under international control. But many countries have not signed the Treaty, among them **South Africa,** Brazil and most of the states with bomb-building potential, known in fine diplomatic German as "doorstep powers". Secretly, the West-German government offers a further ground for justification to free its atomic industry in international trade. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "Any country which wants the bomb can build it too. It doesn't need our help".

But the contrary is true: With reactors alone, and without acquiring nuclear technology, bombs can't be built.

Therefore all experts agree that only effective controls can prevent materials delivered for peaceful purposes. But exactly on that point the federal Germans are not too particular.

The Americans are the most disturbed about this. "If Bonn brings this nightmare into the world it will jeopardize three decades spent trying to win the respect of its neighbours and allies", declared the respected "New York Times" angrily after the conclusion of the KWU deal with Brazil last year, calling the deal straghtforwardly "an atomic madness". US Senator John Pastore demanded consequences for the Atlantic Alliance because the Germans "are creating a danger in our backyard."

Doubtless it was not only out of concern for world peace that Washington reacted to angrily. The Americans were annoyed that their concerns, which for years had dominated the world market, were now losing the super deals. But it seems pretty shallow to dismiss the American criticism as only an ingenious plot by the beaten US competitor General Electric and Westinghouse, as Foreign Minister Genscher ("Westinghouse is a sub-committee of the American Congress") and Research Minister Matthöfer ("competitors' jealousy") did.

The order from Brazil was as good as certain for Westinghouse, which is already building power plants in the Latin American state. The American firm had to forfeit, however, when Brazil asked for more than reactors - factory installations for the enrichment of uranium and re-processing of atomic materials.

For the USA laws prohibit the export of production plants of such sensitive material with good reason: Whoever possesses an enrichment plant can also easily manufacture many basic materials for the production of atom bombs. And whoever possesses such a processing plant has access to the raw material for bombs: Plutonium.

In the past, the Americans readily exported reactors and the necessary enriched fuels. But strict clauses in the contracts forced the recipient countries to transport the used fuel elements for re-processing and control back to the USA. No one was allowed to use the reactor by-products (Plutonium or highly-enriched uranium) for other purposes.

The Germans, with their Brazil package which envisages delivery of a complete re-processing plant, are the first to break the American monopoly of nuclear supplies. And in the future, German atomic plants will be delivered to every country in the world "if they can pay for them" (Research Minister Matthöfer). This was decided at a ministerial conference with Helmut Schmidt last October.

The first beneficiary of the cabinet decision will be **South Africa** which has invited tenders for two reactors for a power plant at Koeberg. "We cannot offer to the Soviet Union to deliver a reactor for Königsberg, and not deliver one to Koeberg simply because the government there doesn't suit us", stated the FDP economics spokesman Otto Count Lambsdorff. But the Soviets already have the bomb; the South Africans still want to build it.

The atomic laissez-faire attitude of Bonn, moreover, will not simply increase sales of West German plants. The Government hopes to gain better access to the raw material, Uranium, through generous delivery tactics. Uranium, namely, is in world-wide short supply as is no other energy source.

For the 514 reactors planned by 1990 throughout the world, there is certainly not enough uranium at present. The known world reserves will last to 1988. The exploitation of the present uneconomic reserves would only be worth-while if the current uranium price of DM 104 a kilo rose to at least DM 160.

Because many uranium producers such as the USA and Australia are already now fixing their quotas, and because on the other hand the demand for this rare element is rising ever faster, Bonn and Brasilia agreed in a secret supplementary treaty a seemingly clever sales clause: The Brazilians will receive their enrichment plant and, in turn, will deliver the sought-after raw material to the Federal Republic of Germany under exactly-stipulated conditions.

The snag: The Brazilian uranium must still be found. Heinz Schulte, director of the Essen energy producer STEAG which is delivering the enrichment plant: "Geologically speaking they seem to have uranium". According to experience, it will take at least eight years from supposition to production. During this time the Brazilian cheque is not covered.

In order to help the South American clients in this unusual transaction "goods in exchange for a presumption of raw materials," prospectors of the Frankfurt "Urangesellschaft" are swarming through the jungle of the Amazon basin. German experts are digging also in Canada, Niger, Togo and Mali; in Nambia, formerly German South-West Africa, they have even made finds already.

For their search the prospecting firms (beside the Urangesellschaft also the Bonn based "Uranerzebergbau") receive an 80% subsidy from federal funds, an assistance which gives the two private firms nearly the status of almost-risk-free state concerns. And even remaining risks are generously covered by the state.

For the Federal Government the private prospecting and the active trade ties are only advantageous: It can keep itself covered. The scheme: The business people prepare the deal inconspicously in advance, then, as in the case of Brazil, present to the government practically ready-to-sign contracts, and Bonn, in the interest of the employment market and a blossoming industry must then agree to it.

"They put pressure on us, and we are pleased to be pressurized" is the way Dieter Vogel, confidant of Minister Friderichs, describes the freedom of action of those who govern this country.

The president of the "Federal Association of German Industry" (Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie - BDI), Hans-Günther Sohl, goes even further: "Every effort to improve trade should also finally be welcomed in the interest of politics. Misunderstandings, though, should be allowed for".

But how far should misunderstandings be allowed to go? Ought the pressure for trade expansion be allowed to narrow the politicians' field of action so much that in the end industry decides the direction of German foreign politics?

So far the politicians have behaved exactly as desired, especially since the shock of the oil embargo and economic crisis. Because the most precious possession of the nation, its prosperity, is involved, it seems best to the government in the face of tricky activities of industry "to intentionally make no decisions at the highest level but rather to leave decisions to industry and a few state secretaries"

(Harald Schäfer, MP/SPD). If a project goes wrong, the excuse is at hand: The state leaders, government or coalition, didn't know anything about the matter.

Not even the responsible parliamentary committee saw the contract with Brazil and the unsatisfactory control mechanisms of this agreement. The decision to build (together with Great Britain and the Netherlands) a 600 million DM uranium enrichment plant according to the centrifugal principle also by-passed parliament.

That the state owned "Gesellschaft für Kerenforschung" (**Society for Nuclear Research** - GFK), Karlsruhe, is working together with **South Africa,** the parliamentary committee members learnt from the newspapers. Parliament also only found out by accident that in return for enriching uranium for German nuclear plants under a farming-out agreement, the Soviet Union is assured of a guaranteed price adjustment, payable under certain circumstances from public funds. The item is not even mentioned in the federal budget, though this would be required.

A terse statement included in a cabinet paper on a co-operation treaty with Iran, approved on January 14th, 1976 says that "for the time being the public should not be informed". The reason for the secrecy: The treaty text and conditions "can not exclude every international criticism".

But not only parliament and the public, but sometimes even the responsible minister has been evaded by ingenious civil servants. Soon after his entry into office in May 1974, Research Minister Matthöfer stopped state subsidies worth DM 50 million to the nuclear research institute in Karlsruhe for the exceptionally expensive German Jet-nozzle enrichment process (see SPIEGEL No. 26/1975). Fifteen months later, Matthöfer discovered that the funds had been granted on the instructions of his state secretary, Hans-Hilger Haunschild. Precisely this enrichment process is used in **South Africa** and will be effected in Brazil.

Confusing structures in respect to the distribution of responsibilities in the Bonn government conceal the transactions even further: The Ministry of Economic Affairs is responsible for the export permits for atomic plants, the Foreign Ministry examines the arrangements for possible controls, the Interior Ministry examines questions of security in transport and operation, and finally the Research Ministry co-ordinates exchange of scientists, arranges contacts and, together with foreign governments, establishes mixed commissions which lay the foundation for big deals.

Harald Schäfer, MP/SPD realised the mess when he asked his party comrade Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, State Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for an answer to a detailed question. For reasons of competence he referred him to Volker Hauff (SPD), state secretary in the Research Ministry, But Hauff did not comply. He wrote that Schäfer should best state his problems to Wischnewki in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The parliamentarian then gave up.

With government co-ordination in such confusion it is no wonder that the supply of funds for research promotion to the Jülich and Karlsruhe atomic research institutes from time to time oversteps efficiency. Beside the DM 600 million which Bonn designated to Jülich for the building of an enrichment plant according to the centrifugal technique, Karlsruhe received DM 50 million to continue to experiment with the competitive but already proven uneconomical jet-nozzle system.

Almost one third of the state research funds flow annually to the atomic research no wonder that atomic experts from all over the world travel to German atomic plants where-uncontrolled-they participate in this blessing and treasure of experience.

In the meantime the German atomic know-how is regarded as the generator for business: Bonn has concluded treaties with 32 mostly underdeveloped countries for technological co-operation in the nuclear field. In the last five years alone, 50 scientists from **South Africa** perfected their knowledge in German laboratories. In Peking last week, Minister Matthöfer was negotiating with China the 33rd treaty of this kind.

The 17 billion DM spent so far by Bonn on atomic research should, it is understood, yield profits. The government is "forced into a role from which we can't*) escape any more" - according to the motto: The state helps in research, the results of the research enterprise must then be sold, must be converted into investment and jobs. Where and at what political cost is of secondary importance.

With tacit approval from Bonn, the managers of the intricately interlinked **German atomic industry (see last page) can organise** their super deals - without any political risk, subsidized with state millions. And on the whole everything remains beautifully within the legal framework, for the laws allow much freedom to operate, as the business contracts with **South Africa** and Brazil demonstrate.

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*) says Frank Haenschke, MP/SPD, a nuclear chemist,

On the 15th of August 1973, the STEAG company, which is a subsidiary of the 50% state-owned Ruhrkohle AG, concluded a treaty with the Atomic Energy Board of **South Africa.** Three years before, STEAG had acquired the jet-nozzle enrichment process for commercial usage from the Karlsruhe research institute (GFK). Contents of the agreement: The apartheid regime buys a sub-licence to use the German know how and pays with enriched uranium. The material will be produced in the plant which **South Africa** will previously build with German participation.

The Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs had no legal objection to the pact: According to foreign trade laws, the export of designs and construction plans is not subject to approval. Only the export of material requires Bonn's permission. The German atomic laws are similar: The export of atomic material must be approved, not that of technological know-how.

Of course the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which also Bonn ratified, forbids the distribution of nuclear knowledge to countries which do not subject themselves to the controls of the Vienna Atomic Energy officials (IAEO).

When STEAG negotiated with **South Africa** in 1973, this treaty was signed by Bonn but was not yet in effect. Consequently, the political authorities would have lacked the ways and means to react against the STEAG deal. When on May 2nd, 1975 the Treaty came into force, it was too late. A few days before, Pretoria's atomic researchers Abraham Roux and Walter Grant announced the development of their "own process" which would now be brought into practice "With international participation." The blueprints of Essen and Karlsruhe had done their job.

However, matters are now not quite so legal any more. For contractually STEAG has been assured of 20% of the enriched uranium to be produced in **South Africa.** This clause violates the Non-Proliferation Treaty signed by Bonn for so long as no international control is agreed to watch over the **South Africa** plant. South Africa rejects this control, with good reason no doubt.

The contract between the German and Brazilian firms, in which both sides united for the biggest atomic deal of all times, is also incompatible with the Non-Proliferation Treaty for as long as no legal controls are put into effect.

In comfortable co-operation the governments pursue a publicity campaign which hides more than it reveals: The Latin American country, although an opponent of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, has agreed to "stricter controls" of the German atomic delivery than stipulated in

this treaty, according to the official Bonn version formulated by Minister Genscher.

Genscher's Brasilian counterpart Azeredo da Silveira stressed that his country even signed the treaty of Tlatelolco, which envisages an atomic freezone in Central and South America. Initialled yes, but never ratified.

And the "stricter controls" which Bonn achieved: they refer only to the exports of German firms. Not controlled, however, are all the plants which Brazil will build in the coming years without German materials, but according to German plans, although the supervision of the Non-Proliferation Treaty is prescribed. State Secretary Hauff utters carefree: "The German co-operation with Brazil is a model for working together with other countries."

When Genscher ("I don't worry about controls, I leave that to the experts") in the end did notice the mistake in the contract, it was too late. His plea to his Brazilian hosts in November last year that they should open their atomic plants for inspection by the Vienna officials was refused.

The tripartite contract between Brazil, Germany and the Vienna officials signed on February 27th this year allows the Vienna nuclear controllers to inspect only the German deliveries to Brazil. The Brazilian imitations remain out of reach.

The Germans, of all people, who maintain an exemplary restraint in arms export, can now extol themselves for having set a new orientation point for international business morals in the atomic industry.

Without doubt: The West-German industry must be involved in the promising atomic trade if it wants to maintain its technological standards on the export market. But must the West-German display laxer measures in their contract conditions and controls than the USA for example?

It may be that one can no longer stop the global expansion of the technology necessary to construct bombs; that in the rough competition involving millions to win customers, the inhibition barrier will inevitably sink lower and lower. But must Germany be the leader in this?

National self-restraint seems even more necessary since international controls are exceedingly scant, despite the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Vienna International Atomic Energy Organization, whose 87 examiners make spot checks of the fuels lists of 117 reactors, shares the fate of other world organizations. It has no executive powers, not

to mention power of execution. It can "subsequently confirm that explosive material has been diverted somewhere, but it can't do anything about it" (Haenschle, MP/SPD).

And Werner Ungerer, former chief of the German delegation of the Vienna organization learnt "that an optimal control system which would subject all atomic material and all countries to control is unlikely ever to materialize".

The seven leading atomic nations of the world (USA, Great Britain, France, Soviet Union, Canada, Japan, Federal Republic of Germany), which have created the "Nuclear Supplies Group" and which already since 1965 regularly meet in secret in London W.1 Grosvenor Square, agreed in November last year on a codex "concerning export procedures in the area of peaceful use of nuclear energy." The fourth of the total ten commandments: Exceptions from control will be approved "after consultation with the Suppliers partners," it is stated simply and vaguely. If an importer doesn't want inspection, the exporter must simply mention this beforehand - that's all.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn, in a Memo for the cabinet, expressed pleasure that the London document "determines the minimum range of the agreed measures for delivery of nuclear technology and material". And the officials summarize in obvious relief: "The relatively stiff American security regulations were not accepted."

With the acceptance of their codex, which stipulates equal conditions of competition at minimum security level, the world suppliers have swept away a suggestion by the US Foreign Minister Henry Kissinger, who wanted to create multinational "regional centres" for enrichment and re-processing. Kissinger's aim: better controls, prevention of plutonium theft and exclusively peaceful use of the materials.

The Americans, hitherto condemned by members of the German Government as irresponsible atomic exporters, are preparing the consequences of their defeat in London. A US Congress committee, which in the last few years has removed more and more powers from the central government to the Capitol, is now planning a law which will make the export of atomic materials from the USA much more difficult or even prohibit altogether, until new international controls lessen the danger of nuclear catastrophes in the whole world.

In Bonn, on the contrary, parliament and government are silent. The Federal Parliament which discussed atomic energy for four hours on January 22nd, 1976, didn't once mention the issue of export of the dangerous goods. The government takes care not to convey the least bit of awareness of the problem to the parliamentarians.

A proposition of the atomic chief diplomat Werner Ungerer, therefore, also remained unheeded, which said: "Countries which are not prepared to submit their complete atomic activities to international security controls, should be barred completely from the possibility of acquiring the know-how (from other countries) to build their own atomic plant."

The Government in Bonn can comfortably leave these business-disrupting demands in the drawers - further warnings from Ungerer against the Brazil deal and other negotiations are not to be expected: The atomic expert has been transferred from Vienna to the New York Consulate-General.

REACTIONS OF THE GERMAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, PARTICIPATING SCIENTISTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS TO A N C CHARGES OF ATOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE APARTHEID STATE

BACKGROUND TO THE STATEMENTS

The ANC-Documentation

A brochure of the African National Congress (South Africa) published in September, 1975 accused the West German Government of promoting the building of atomic weapons in South Africa.

The state-controlled firm Steag and the state-owned Gesellschaft für Kernforschung (Association for Nuclear Research) "GfK", Karlsruhe are preparing - with the German Government's knowledge - a uranium enrichment plant in South Africa, based on the German "Jet Nozzle Separation" process. The first contracts for this purpose were awarded to the firm MAN, in Nuremberg, in September 1974.

2. Possibilities for building atomic weapons

There are currently two ways of producing atom bombs: a) by enriching the uranium isotope U 235, of which natural uranium contains 0.7% to approx. 90%. Most of today's nuclear weapons are made in this way. Three physical methods come into question: Gas Diffusion, Gas-Ultracentrifuge, Jet Nozzle Separation.

Jet Nozzle Separation is protected by a worldwide patent held by GfK/Steag. Like both other processes, it is suitable for producing both nuclear explosives and reactor fuel, - the enrichment process results in a U 235 content of 3%.

b) Plutonium, like 90% U 235, can also be used for nuclear explosives. It remains as a residue when uranium is burned in nuclear reactors, and can be recovered by chemical methods. This is how India came to possess nuclear weapons.

3. Illegal activities disclosed by the ANC-Documentation

The following illegal acts, detailed in the ANC brochure, have not been denied (and, for that matter, followed up) by the German government:

— Illegal export of production blueprints for Jet Nozzle Separation plant, by GfK/Steag to South Africa;

— Violation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by MAN's planned delivery of equipment for the enrichment plant to South Africa, which has not signed the treaty;

— Participation of the German Army in the construction of the enrichment plant, by codifying MAN's deliveries according to the uniform Nato codification system; (Hitherto only three projects for delivery to South Africa - all of strategic importance - have been codified.)

— State Secretary Haunschild, of the Science Ministry aided the Firm Urangesellschaft in obtaining state subsidies for illegal uranium exploration in Rössing (Namibia), by giving false details of the purpose for which the money was to be used.1) A report about the misleading data appeared in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.2)

— Urangesellschaft still holds a share in Roessing Uranium Ltd., and has an option for the purchase of 40% of the mine's uranium output.

Since the export of - inter alia - minerals from Namibia conflicts international law, and since the German Government has officially prohibited any German shareholding, this act amounts to preparation for theft, and the receiving of stolen property.

B: REPLIES TO DATA ON NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

1. The Government's "official version"

Government spokesman Klaus Bölling described the ANC-documentation as "a mixture of truth, half truth and speculation". 3) The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) reported on October 9, 1975: "Official sources in Pretoria regard the publicised pamphlets as

a mixture of misunderstandings, speculatory allegations and false interpretations, based on inadequate specialist knowledge. "Cabinet Minister Hans Matthöfer described the ANC disclosures as "a communist smear campaign" 4). The minister did not reply to a letter from the Anti-Apartheid Movement (14.10.75) asking what was meant by "communist smear campaign". However his ideas were taken over from the Foreign Ministry, which told the press that the ANC was "communist - infiltrated, pro - Soviet", and a "somewhat murky source" 5).

These slanders were circulated simultaneously with the distribution of a Government declaration, officially described as a "Sprachregelung" (rule of speech) of October 1975. In this official version, the Government says simply "The information contained in the brochure published by the African National Congress is incorrect, as is the allegation that the West German and South African Governments are cooperating in uranium enrichment."

Referring to the allegation that the German Steag AG is operating a uranium enrichment plant jointly with the South African firm UCOR the Government states, "The fact is that in 1973 these two firms agreed to conduct a study, comparing the technical feasibilities and economics of the South African uranium enrichment process and the Jet Nozzle Separation process. South Africa decided that its own process was more favourable, and for this reason no cooperation was agreed upon."

The ANC documentation included a confidential letter from State Secretary Haunschild to the President of the South African Atomic Energy Board, Roux (12.07.1973) discussing the legal aspects of keeping details of "the enrichment process' a "German state secret"

The "official version" of Bonn says of this letter, "Finally it was pointed out that an agreement between the Federal Government and the South African Government for keeping the matter secret was not envisaged."

However, what Haunschild actually wrote was, "In our talk we agreed that an agreement or arrangement between our countries concerning secrecy of the process was not opportune at the present time." 6). Commenting on the ANC allegation that German scientists collaborated in the development of the enrichment process the "Sprachregelung" states, "there is not - and has not been any exchange of personnel with the object of participating in the development of the South African process."

Again, with this statement, the Government avoids a reply to the finding of the brochure that there is no "South African" process, but that the patented, German Jet Nozzle Separation process will be applied in South Africa with Bonn's approval. Though the brochure supplies ample details of the handing over of the separation process, not one of the visits, training courses, letters, contracts or technical proofs is denied by Bonn.

All in all, neither the West German Government nor Pretoria has disproved the ANC facts. Referring to the ANC publication State Secretary, de With, Federal Ministry of Justice, ascertained, "The Federal Government does not know of any criminal acts by members and agents of the ANC in West Germany.
Under these circumstances the Government has no possibility of taking additional steps." 7)

2. Forms of Cooperation

- Steag/Ucor "study";
- consulting agreement between the Institute for Reactor Safety, Cologne, and Escom, Johannesbug; 8)
- Training, e.g. of the South African atomic scientists Linde Stumpf, Schmitt, Wilmot in two year courses by the GfK, Karlsruhe;
- Preparations for the delivery of nuclear reactors.

3. Co-operation in Uranium Enrichment

To correctly assess the statements by Bonn concerning this grave matter, the most important facts supplied by the ANC and investigating journalists are repeated once more:

a) details of decisions and contracts:

15.08.73 Steag-AEB/Ucor contract granting Ucor a sub-licence for the Jet Nozzle process; [11]).

22.08.83 Press report by Reuters about Steag/Ucor cooperation;

28.09.73 Inter-ministerial state secretary discussion (Ministry for Science, Economics Ministry, Foreign Ministry, Chancellor's Office) about the Steag-AEB-Ucor contract, with a recommendation in favour of the project;

17.10.73 Cabinet discussion about the granting of the sub-license apart from the present Interior Minister Matthofer and the then Development Minister Eppler,

all cabinet members (including the present members Schmidt, Genscher, Vogel, Friderichs, Arendt Focke, Francke, Bahr and Leber) voted for the license to be granted to South Africa; the final decision was postponed for a week by Chancellor Brandt; [10]).

18.10.73 STEAG withdraws its application to the Federal Government for permission to grant the sub-licence and for government financing; accordingly, the following cabinet meeting on 24.10.73 took no decision. [11]).

8.11.12.73 South Africa's Minister for Finance, Dr. Diederich, successfully prepared the private financing of the project with top managers of Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Commerzbank, Berliner Handelsgesellschaft/ Frankfurter Bank and Deutsche Bundesbank in Frankfurt.

1.8.3.74 Professor Becker of GfK, Karlsruhe, visits Pelindaba.

19.3.74 STEAG-UCOR contract, by which STEAG undertook to draft plans for a large-scale enrichment plant using the jet nozzle process, for use by South Africa.

11.9.74 The South African utility ESCOM awarded the firm MAN, Nuremberg, a contract for delieveries for the planned South African uranium enrichment plant.

b) the transfer of technology

The comments of the West German and the South African Governments of Professor Becker, of the GfK, Steag and informed journalists on South Africa's adoption of the militarily-useful Jet Nozzle process, are contradictory. The mere question of whether the opportunity existed for GfK Karlsruhe scientists to pass on the data gets different replies.

The "Afrika-Post", a monthly magazine of the Deutsch-Südafrikanische Gesellschaft (German-South Africa Association) financed by Pretoria, states; "The fact that a scientific cooperation exists between German and South African agencies, e.g. in the development of uranium enrichment processes, has been revealed in publications by both sides for many years, and is nothing new." [12]).

Prof. Becker denied a special cooperation with the South Africans but conceded that free availability of information during the process' development "made it possible for competent

scientists - including those from South Africa to inform themselves." [13])

However, Government spokesman Bölling said it would not have been possible for South African scientists on working visits to the GfK Karlsruhe to obtain data on the construction of uranium enrichment plant. [14])

c) German Government subsidies
Federal Technology Minister Hans Matthöfer disclosed that after 1975 his ministry no longer financed development of the Jet Nozzle process. [15]) This draws attention to a highly-suspect state of affairs. Why did Bonn finance this development which because of its high energy consumption could never be used in West Germany at all? [16]) And why was the subsidy stopped in 1975, when a section of the South African plant began to operate?

d) Conflicting Declarations by Bonn, Pretoria, Steag, Pelindaba and Prof. Becker, concerning the application of the German enrichment process in South Africa.
During the recent discussion, only Pretoria's Foreign Minister Dr. Hilgard Muller and Steag have denied that uranium is being enriched at Valindaba on the basis of a German discovery. Muller repeated the claim made repeatedly by his government since 1970 that the country had developed a new enrichment method. Steag, too, said the South African process was not the same as the German Jet Nozzle process. [17])

These denials are irreconcilable with the 1973 agreement by which Steag gave a licence to South Africa. Nor are they compatible with the "comparative feasibility study of both processes", started after the 1973 agreement was allegedly anulled. For it was still planned that in the event of "positive" conclusion, Steag know-how would be brought into the South African enrichment method. [18])

Finally, it does not tie in with Steag's press statement of 09.04. 1974, which in spite of the withdrawal of the application to give the Jet Nozzle licence to South Africa stated, "For countries with a favourable electricity price level, e.g. Australia, Canada, South Africa, the Jet Nozzle Separation process is worth considering for such (enrichment) processes."

The ANC brochure had already provided strong proof, using official South African documents, that South Africa had laid claim to the Jet Nozzle process from the start, and presented it as the country's "own exclusive" process.

Support for the ANC argument came from specialist correspondent Lehmann (VWD* who wrote in the Westfälische Rundschau: Pelindaba is extremly tight-lipped about its enrichment process.

*Vereinigte Wirtschaftsdienste (united economics service; press agency)

No one denies that it is the Jet Nozzle process, hitherto developed by the Karlsruhe Prof. Becker only in small-scale experiments. But Pelindaba maintains that from a certain stage onwards, the systems diverge." [19])

State Secretary Hauff of the Technology Ministry said the South African Process was very similar to the Jet Nozzle Process, but in certain respects it was actually superior. [20]) Government spokesman Bölling [21] and State Secretary Haunschild [22]) made similar statements.

While minister Matthöfer claimed that South Africa had decided to use its own process [23]) Steag declared its participation in a South African enrichment project depended ultimately on the outcome of a study which was still in progress. [24]) Steag also said it had signed agreements with Ucor for the delivery of 20% of the uranium enriched in South Africa. But Foreign Minister Muller said there was no such agreement. [25]) Dr Schulte, chairman of Steag, said the company had a "moral right" to acquire a share in the South African plant. [26])

e) Contradictory statements by Becker, Steag, and the Bonn Foreign Ministry on the granting of the licence for the Jet Nozzle Process to South Africa.

Prof. Becker ascertained there were "certain overlapping process characteristics". [27]) And in an internal report of the Government he even stated that the South Africans had taken over details of hydrogen use without authorization. [28]) In spite of this, the actors in the granting of the licence declared their ignorance: Becker said GfK had neither delegated any rights to South Africa, nor exported a patent there. [29]) Indeed, this was done by Steag and not by the GfK.

Government spokesman Suliman said, "As far as I know a licence of this type for uranium enrichment has not been granted I cannot say anything more until Government specialists have checked this ANC documentation." [30])

A Steag spokesman refused to comment on the demand that the company describe its involvement in South Africa "if this existed", until Steag had seen the (ANC) document, as this was a "difficult situation". [31])

4. Delivery of Nuclear Reactors

a) authorization and delivery dates

On 15.10.75 the cabinet passed the above mentioned "Sprachregelung". According to the magazine Der Spiegel (20.10.75) the

cabinet deleted one sentence: "There is no cooperation between the Federal Republic and South Africa in the field of nuclear energy." The document now stated that it was "absurd" to suggest the German Government was "helping this country to (produce an) atom bomb."

Until this type of argument was developed, Bonn had repeatedly denied any suggestion of nuclear contact with the apartheid Government. Although the firm KWU* had already applied to the Government both for a permit to export two nuclear power plants to South Africa and early in 1975, according to Government spokesman Bölling for a Hermes export credit guarantee [32]) the official Bonn version was denying these facts.

In September, replying to corresponding allegations by Nigeria, the Foreign Ministry in Bonn stated that speculation about nuclear cooperation between South Africa and West Germany was "misguided." [33]) The Ministry said explicitly that no application had been made for a Hermes credit guarantee to cover reactors for South Africa. [34]) At a press conference on 26.09.75 a Ministry spokesman reiterated, "The Federal Government knows nothing of a co-operation in the nuclear field, for which an export permit would be required. The German Government is a champion of the principle of private enterprise economy. We do not control our economy and have no intention of doing so. The Government can and will only intervene when according to the relevant law it must issue an export permit. I do not know of any application having been made for such a permit."

This speaker's awareness of the facts was thus out of touch with reality in a question of decisive importance.

The same false information was given at a press conference on 06.10.75 when Government spokesman Bölling said the Government was contemplating neither "direct" nor "indirect" nuclear co-operation with South Africa. The mere fact that KWU had participated in the international order for tenders for a nuclear power plant could be construed as "Co-operation". "But the question of whether there will be a so-called Hermes credit does not arise at present." [35])

An Economics Ministry spokesman told the same press conference, "The matter is being dealt with at the assistant-department head level. A decision is due in perhaps a year-and-a-half." [36])

Apparently this tactic of denials by the Government seemed too dangerous to KWU. Replying to a question by Die Welt on the same day, a company spokesman made a cautious correction, "important people" had already sought contact with the Foreign-Economics, and Research Ministries "with regard to an export permit". [37])

Consequently, at the next press conference, Bölling denied what had hitherto been the official Government version: KWU had indeed already applied for an export credit guarantee, he conceded. [38])

The Government now tried to create the impression that it would not authorize the granting of a permit. Referring to the delivery of nuclear power plants, Government spokesman Grünewald announced on Radio Bremen on 11.10.75; "We do not intend any co-operation with the South African Republic."

Using a newly created working definition (that "in the sale of nuclear power plants" he could "not see such a nuclear co-operation", [39]) Minister Matthöfer tried to remove the contradiction arising from his strong plea for the erection of the two power stations by a German-South African consortium (Murray & Roberts/KWU). [40]) Matthöfer indicated that the cabinet would almost certainly vote unanimously in favour of the relevant delivery. [41])

Indeed, with the exception of a certain hesitance in the Foreign Office, members of the Government raised no objections to supporting the KWU deliveries. At the Social Democratic Party's Mannheim Congress, Chancellor Schmidt advocated the sale of nuclear reactors to all countries, according to the SPD-publication PPP (13.11.75). The SPD-magazine Vorwärts (30.11. 75) attributed the same views to the entire SPD party leadership.

b) Safeguarding of jobs

A further argument employed by the Government is that exports provide a guarantee for employment. This is highly dubious, since in 1973 at the height of boom, when the granting of a licence would not have created jobs, all except two cabinet ministers advocated granting a Jet Nozzle licence to South Africa. Those who voted in favour were therefore not motivated by domestic economic considerations. And in the case of the proposed delivery of atomic power plants to the Soviet Union, political motives are also more important than jobs. (The sale of a nuclear reactor for Kalinigrad/S.U. was recently impeded because of political reasons.)

On 17.11.75 the Dutch Parliament forbade the export of nuclear material to non-signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It thereby prevented the firm Rijnschelde-Verolme from acquiring a DM 900 million share in a consortium with General Electric and BBC for the construction of the South African atomic power plants.

c) International competition

Justifying the German Government's desire to promote the KWU project, State Secretary Grüner said an atomic power plant would "be delivered to South Africa, whatever happens." [42]) Apart from the fact that the Federal Government policy towards apartheid and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty should be corresponding with her own principles this reasoning is contradicted by the facts.

5. Scientific Co-operation

Elaborating on the often repeated denial of nuclear collaboration with South Africa, Government spokesman Bölling claimed that no South African scientists had been trained in nuclear technology development in West Germany. There had merely been "visits" by such scientists. [43]) Minister Matthöfer also tried to gloss over already proven two-year-training-courses for South African scientists at the Nuclear Research Centre, Karlsruhe. Contacts by GFK, Karlsruhe, even to South Africa, could not be described as co-operation, he said. [44])

State Secretary Moersch, Foreign Affairs, tried to present these training courses as being purely of a private nature. Replying to a Parliamentary question by Mr. Schinzel, MP, he said, "In relation to South Africa there is also no agreement at Government level for a scientific-technical cooperation. There can be no question of Government backing for the activities of German companies and research institutes in the sector mentioned by you." [45])

Assuming that Moersch knows about the Cultural Agreement between Bonn and Pretoria, and about the Government's subsidizing of the commercial application of the Jet Nozzle process (4th Atomic Program) which is being jointly investigated by Steag and Ucor, then he lied.

6. Uranium Imports

Here, too, the German Government misinformed the public and parliament about uranium imports. Although, for example, the Hamburg Electricity Works and the Rheinisch-Westfälische Electricity Works buy natural uranium from South Africa [46]) the Frankfurter Rundschau reported on 09.09.75, "the German Government is not contemplating the acquirement of uranium from South Africa at the present time. According to the sources from the Foreign Ministry, the question is 'not acute'."

C: THE MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BONN-PRETORIA NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

The conflicting statements by Government members, Steag and Pretoria vastly strengthen the ANC accusation that the Apartheid Government's nuclear ambitions are dictated by military-political rather than economic considerations, and that the West German Government knows this.

> In the question hour of the Bundestag on 01.10.75, State Secretary Hauff said, "the Government assumes that Germany's uranium requirements can be secured from other regions." Here too, the Government had to correct herself. Government spokesman Bölling pointed out one week later that West Germany obtained 40% of her uranium imports from South Africa. [47])

Bonn emphasizes that trade with South Africa has "great importance" and that West Germany cannot sacrifice such a trading partner. [48]) If uranium enrichment equipment and nuclear power plants were mere civilian trading goods in the hands of Pretoria then all the ridiculous denials, lies and cover-ups would not make sense.

1. The Nuclear Reactors and Plutonium

Appearing before the United Nations General Assembly on 24.09.75, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher showed himself to be informed and responsibly concerned about the dangers of nuclear power plants. "It is estimated," he said, "that by 1980 the number of nuclear reactors in the world will be 15 times the number in 1970. Operation of these reactors would make possible the potential recovery of 26.000 kg plutonium annually in the non-nuclear-weapon states early in the 1980s — sufficient to produce 50 atomic bombs per week. The challenge we must solve is to exploit the advantages of peaceful nuclear technology, without thereby spreading nuclear weapons." [49])

The planned Koeberg reactor in South Africa would produce 200 kg plutonium annually = 20 atomic bombs !

Thus Government spokesman Bölling said on 06.10.75 that in the last resort it would be decisive whether South Africa like Brazil would submit to strict controls against an abuse for military purposes. [50])

2. The Jet Nozzle Enrichment Process

a) Technical details

On the basis of published technical details it can be deduced that the South African uranium enrichment plant is intended for enrichment level about 3%, i.e. also for military purposes. The journalist Frank Lehrman, special correspondent of the VWD (Vereinigte Wirtschaftsdienste) reported from Pelindaba

that Pretoria planned a "vast enrichment plant". [51]) Until 1988, 2400 tn uranium will be enriched annually, thereafter possibly 5000 tn uranium. [52]) For this, 50 (or 100 respectively) separation stages would be necessary, which would have to be laid out in a hall of 32m x 40m (or 48m x 40m). For civil purposes, therefore, such a plant would not be "vast".

In Pelindaba/Valindaba, however, there already exists three halls for the operation of the separation stages, each of 192m x 40m. They will be mounted with 1500 separation stages. The first enrichment plant for 2400 tn will cost 1,6 billion Dollars. On the basis of the costs mentioned by the ANC this would correspond to a plant with 6000 tn civil enrichment capacity. On the basis of Pretoria's figures, 6 500 tn civil capacity.

b) Various statements
Steag-boss Schulte said the Jet Nozzle Process had no military significance; [53]) South Africa would have the bomb by 1995 "at the earliest": [54])

The reaction of the South African Embassy was even more absurd. At a press conference on 01.10.75 press spokesman du Bois said, "we have nothing to hide at Pelindaba." Commenting on this, the South African newspaper The Star on 04.10.75 said du Bois must be aware of the secrecy surrounding Pelindaba and the draconian laws for maintaining such secrecy. He even claimed untruthfully as did the Steag firm [55]) - that South Africa had submitted to the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Pelindaba is "strongly guarded and only accessible with a special permit", wrote Lehmann. "Valindaba, the first uranium enrichment plant, is within range of sight but strictly taboo for access by strangers." [56])

Minister Matthöfer admitted [57]) that delivery of an enrichment plant could cause problems of military aid and Government spokesman Bölling noted, that an enrichment plant could also produce fissionable material for making atomic bombs. [58]) But the Federal Defence Ministry portrayed the military aspect of enrichment quite differently. Following reports of General Günther Rall's "private" visit to Pelindaba in November 1974, Defence Ministry spokesman Armin Halle was asked by journalists which installations the General had visited. His reply (given two days later). "One installation - I am not sure whether it was an atomic power station which was concerned with the peaceful use of nuclear energy." [59]) Halle subsequently showed himself to be fully informed of what Rall had seen. Asked a few minutes later about ANC documents which showed that Rall had actually visited the site of an uranium enrichment plant, Halle said, "That is the point I was talking about. Apparently

that is the installation which I wrongly called an atomic power station." [60]) Interpreting the significance of the top-secret visit, Halle said, "It shows a certain harmlessness, when a Government takes an airforce general of all people to such an installation." [61])

3. General Rall's visits to the South African enrichment laboratories.

a) Visits by West-German Generals to Pelindaba

When Helmut Schmidt was still Defence Minister, the head of the Paramilitary Police Unit, General Grüner, and Inspector-General Ulrich de Maizière of the Army visited South Africa at the cost of the racist regime. After his retirement de Maizière, (1974) like General Graf Kielmannsegg (1971 - 1975) was again flown to the Cape of Good Hope at the cost of the Vorster Government.
Following the assumption of office by George Leber, as Minister for Defence General Trettner, former General Inspector, visited South Africa at Pretoria's expense. According to South Africa Embassy press spokesman Nicolaas du Bois all visitors with the rank of General visited Pelindaba. [62])
Similar intensive contacts between the Federal Germany Army and the South African Arms industry and army have also been disclosed. [63])

b) Other co-operation between the Federal Defence Ministry and Pretoria

West-German scientists are working with knowledge of the Defence and Foreign Ministries in prominent positions in the armament industry of the white minority regime. With the full permission of the West-German Army, they are bringing their knowledge up to date in arms factories and institutes in West Germany. Among those named are: Dr. G. Engelter, head of a research division in the South African Navy, who made officially approved visits to West Germany in 1969, 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974, and Dr. H.G. Denkhaus, head of the metallurgical department of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), who for the past 11 years has held both South African and German nationality with the knowledge of the German Ambassador in Pretoria.
West-German citizens including some for whom the illegal Windhoek consulate in Namibia is responsible are undergoing training in the South African armed forces. Previous members of the West-German Army are provided for the South African Army by the Bonn Defence Ministry, named, is for example Luftwagen - Obergefreiter Wahl. Every year about 80 South

African military scientists visit the Federal Republic on the basis of the West-German/South African Cultural Agreement.

Deliveries of Milan rockets, Transall military aircraft, military vehicles, helicopters and an abundance of military software have been amply documented.

The statement of Defence Minister Leber that he first heard of General Rall's visit on 26.9.75, and then only indirectly, [64]) must be seen against the background of this military cooperation.

c) **Rall's South Africa visit**

General and Mrs. Rall's visit of 5. to 12.10.74 was planned in all details and paid for by the South African armed forces. The air tickets were handed to him by the South African Embassy in Brussels. In South Africa he was the guest of Kurt Dahlmann, Editor of the Windhoek Allgemeine Zeitung, for four days at the end of the visit, otherwise he was always Pretoria's guest. With the exception of one flight, he was always flown in South African Air Force machines. Apart from his stay with Dahlman, three days in the Kruger Park and four short trips, the visit consisted of official talks, speeches and inspections.

Rall visited the Devon Air Force unit, Waterloof military aerodrome, the Atlas aircraft factory, the Transhoek and Stellenbosch military academies, a military dockyard, the Navy headquarters at Simonstown, and Pelindaba. On one evening he was guest of the West-German Ambassador.

During the visit to the aircraft factory and Pelindaba, and during two discussions, Mrs. Rall was not permitted to be present. The original programme, which was not marked "confidential," omitted references to the visit to Pelindaba and the meeting with West-German Ambassador, but otherwise corresponded completely with the final programme.

d) **Indications of Leber's agreement**

aa) Ambassador Sole and General Rall had planned Rall's visit since June 1972. In 1973 the plan crystallized. Rall was to leave in November 1973 for a three week visit. On May 30th, at a banquet at the Hotel Königshof, Bonn, celebrating South Africa's National Day, Rall and Sole discussed the necessary arrangements.

Six days later Rall informed Sole in writing "I already have the permission of my Minister." But because of various appoint-

ments, he had to postpone the visit for a year. On 8.6.73 Sole wrote in a communique to General Loubscher (responsible for official visits) in Pretoria, "If he (i.e. Rall - editor) had another Minister, who was not as well disposed to us as Georg Leber, he might not have got permission to visit South Africa." On 17.6.73 Rall telephoned Sole and assured him that only timing difficulties were responsible for the delay. Sole reported to Loubscher on 19.6.73, "There was no political pressure of any sort. He (i.e. Rall - editor) told me he had spoken to his Minister, who was in complete agreement."

At the German Air Force Ball at the end of February 1974, Sole was present and almost certainly spoke to Leber. It is striking that he should write shortly after (on 04.04.75) to State Secretary van Dalsen in Pretoria's Foreign Ministry, "I was able to arrange for the issue of visiting permit (for Rall - editor) on an informal basis by Defence Minister Georg Leber, with whom I likewise discussed the matter." Whereas hitherto he had stated in all reports that according to Rall(Leber had agreed, he henceforth stated that he himself had spoken to Leber, "I have seen to it that his Minister has authorised the visit." [65]) And in a report to the new officer responsible for foreign visitors, General de Villiers)06.08.74) Sole wrote - without citing Rall as his source, "He is travelling abroad in his private capacity, as guest of Kurt Dahlmann. The German Defence Minister, Herr Leber, knows that the visit involves more that this."

bb) Others who were informed

Is it possible that Rall and Sole simply lied, quoting something authorized by Leber in talks which had never taken place? Did Rall avoid the topic during his talks and long trips with Leber before and after the South Africa visit? Did Sole too, not touch on the theme during the 1974 receptions nor at the January 1975 Air Force Ball?

As far as other persons were concerned, both Rall and Sole seemed to have been more talkative. Writing about a party on 10.06.74 in Brussels, the hitherto-uninformed Emissary of Pretoria at the EEC, Dr. Naudé said; "at the time I met General Rall there were several other people present, and I certainly didn't have the impression that not much was to be said regarding his forthcoming visit to South Africa." [66])

At a meeting of Army Generals on 29.10.74, General Inspector Admiral Zimmermann, who had given written approval for Rall's visit, attributed reports of the visit to rumours, as Rall wrote to his friend Dahlmann; "I saw once again at the Gene-

rals' Meeting, how very sensitive people are here, when General Inspetor Admiral Zimmermann disclosed that Bonn Parliamentary Circles were in uproar, because Ambassador Sole allegedly said General Rall was visiting South Africa at the invitation of the South African Government".

On South Africa's side, numerous people, including Sole Dahlmann, Gerber (S.A. Foundation Director), General Vorster (Inspector of the Air Force), General Loubser (Chief of Logistics), Admiral Biermann, the Foreign, Defence and Information Ministries and South African diplomats in London, Brussels and Bonn, knew that General Rall was visiting South Africa at the invitation of the South African Army.

cc) Report of the German Ambassador in Pretoria

The German Ambassador in South Africa, Dr. Sträthling would surely not have kept Georg Leber in the dark about the fact that General Rall, accompanied by a top South African Navy officer, spent the evening with him on 13.10.74. If neither the Bonn Foreign or Defence Ministries nor Rall had informed him of the nature of Rall's visit, then the question arises of why and how the Ambassador was included in Rall's program at all. Besides that General Rall ordered all his mail to be posted via the German Embassy, which means that the Embassy must have been informed about all the stations of his program.

e) Reactions of the Defence Ministry, Leber and Pretoria

If Leber was telling the truth when he said he was first informed of the Rall visit on 26.09.75, then, his reactions on being informed of Rall's antics brand him as an idiot. Two days earlier already, on 24.09.75, Reuters news agency reported the ANC charge that Rall had visited Pelindaba in October 1974. Reuters got confirmation of the visit from Rall, who stressed that the visit had been "entirely of a private nature".

Colonel Kommer, spokesman for the German Defence Ministry, was apparently aware of the written version of the purpose of the visit, agreed between Rall and Sole. Asked about Rall's Pelindaba visit, he told the Frankfurter Rundschau off the cuff that at the time in question, Rall had made a private visit at the invitation of a friend, during the course of a holiday. No official duties were connected with the visit, therefore there were no grounds for speculation. [67]) - With this last sentence, Kommer made it clear Rall's Pelindaba visit was not self-explanatory.

On the following day, regional and national newspapers mentioned this striking fact. Telephoned by the magazine Stern, Berkhan who had been Defence State Secretary at the time of the Rall visit, refused any comment. Stern then called Rall. Confronted with quotes from his own letters, claiming that he had the consent of his minister, Rall said, "That's not correct. That's wrong. The Minister knows absolutely nothing." In a telephone conversation with Sole, Stern likewise ascertained how Sole had procured Leber's consent, "That's incorrect. I can't remember that." [68])

Realizing from the phone call that the Rall files were missing, Sole immediately (about 11 a.m. - editor) rang General Inspecpector Zimmermann, with the request that Leber should be immediately advised. [69]) But even on this day the news is not supposed to have got through to Leber. On the morning of the the 26.09.75 a Press conference was held at which the ANC documentation was released. It stated that on 17.10.74, Rall - who travelled to South Africa secretly on 17.10.74 as guest of the South African Armed Force under a false name and with the approval of the Defence Minister, had visited Pelindaba enrichment laboratories.

At the Government press conference which followed immediately after, Government spokesmen especially Armin Halle of the Defence Ministry were asked probing questions for thirty minutes. Halle stuck to the old version that the South Africans knew of Rall's "private" visit only two weeks after the start of his holiday. Only then had Rall been invited for visits, speeches, and the trip to Pelindaba. Halle added that the Ministry would not have felt it necessary to ask Rall about his journey, but had only become aware of it through the questions asked by the Stern magazine. Asked whether Bonn would use Rall's visit as an occasion to ask him intensively what he had really been doing in South Africa, Halle replied; "No, that is completely unnecessary".

It is said Leber still remained uninformed. On Friday 26.9.75, Rall left Brussels for a dinner engagement with Leber. Only then did Leber learn "indirectly" that his Nato representative had travelled abroad in October, 1974. After these "hints", Rall returned to Brussels.

However, for some inexplicable reason, Halle and Rall discussed the portrayal of the mysterious visit the next (Saturday) morning. They changed it. As Halle sketched it at a press conference on 29.09.75, the Ministry believed the following; Rall allowed Pretoria to prepare a private visit for him and pay the air fare for him and his wife. He paid all other costs in South Africa, where he was a guest of the Government him-

self. When the program was under discussion, he had crossed out twelve politically contentious items. Since he still had objections that the visit might assume unnecessary significance, he kept the visit secret. Only now did Rall begin to realize the implications of his visit. Before the journey he had asked State Secretary Berkhan whether he could travel to South Africa. When Berkhan told him that only visits to East Bloc countries were prohibited by military legislation, he had misunderstood this. Since then he had believed mistakenly that Leber had approved his visit. Leber didn't know anything. Rall felt himself "tricked" by the South Africans, since at the airport in London a South African in civil clothes had helped him change aircraft, and only later he had found out that the man was a military attache.

Asked at the press conference "do you thus see no reason at present to assume that Mr. Rall behaved wrongly in any way?" Haller replied, "NO". Since Rall had paid his costs in South Africa himself, there was no reason to call a hearing of the anti-corruption authority.
However, on the following day, in the morning and afternoon, Leber spoke with Rall and ordered a strict check of the circumstances of Rall's visit. Halle now said the character of the visit had in a way, clear to Rall, changed recognizably to a type of official visit.

On the morning of 01.10.75, Rall and Leber again spoke to each other. Thereafter Leber stood before the TV-camera, "Rall has asked me to place him into retirement. I will fulfill this wish." Leber referred to "...this highly-decorated flying officer...honoured repeatedly as soldier... my personal esteem... courageous officer. I assume General Rall was not fully aware of the implications of his actions, when he concealed the special circumstances of this visit from his military superiors and myself. The effects of this behaviour must cause a disruption of the indispensable trust relationship. The fulfilment of his duty in the Alliance and thereby the safeguarding of the interests of our country will be jeopardized by the nature and circumstances of this visit." Leber told the press; "This is not a case which calls for disciplinary measures." [70]) Leber's action, in acceding to Rall's request for premature retirement, is not possible under civil service law. But Rall has retired some years earlier than planned, with a full monthly pension of DM 5.477./-.

Admiral Zimmermann, who had signed the authorization for Rall's visit didn't know anything of the "circumstances" either. [71]) Although he must have known of the visit to Pelindaba (otherwise Defence spokesman Kommer would not have been

able to qualify the visit as "unworthy of speculations"), he was according to Leber not informed.

Pretoria's Defence Ministry expressed itself in the same way as Bonn's Defence Ministry did. Officially people didn't know anything of Rall's visit. [72]) A press conference on 02.10.75 said, "Rall visited South Africa privately as guest of Kurt Dahlmann." [73]) A spokesman for the Atomic Energy Board too denied any knowledge of a visit by Rall to Pelindaba. [74])

CONCLUSIONS, UNANSWERED QUESTIONS, DEMANDS

The West-German Government has not denied that a uranium enrichment plant is being built in South Africa, based on the German Jet Nozzle process.

Bonn has not denied that MAN, Nürnberg, is supplying parts for the South African plant, which is in the process of being built.

Bonn has not denied that the Bundeswehr is providing NATO codification for the parts being supplied by MAN.

In view of this clear, knowing participation by the West-German Government, in the build-up of nuclear arms capacities in South Africa, the ANC assumption that this was a military project of earlier West-German Governments cannot be substantiated.

The actions and the lies by members of the present West-German Government force to the realisation that it adopts the same policies towards the racist minority regime as previous governments.

The recent statements by South African information minister Dr. Connie Mulder that South Africa would fight in Angola - "We are going to act, whether it causes a third world war or not" [75]) - makes the terrible extent of the West-German Government's action clear.

We demand that the Government immediately cease all nuclear co-operation with South Africa and once and for all answers the following questions truthfully:

— What are the contents of the Steag/Ucor agreements?

— Why have the above-mentioned illegal acts not been followed up,

— Why did Rall remain unpunished?

— Is Matthöfer acceptable as Technology Minister?

— Is Leber acceptable as Defence Minister?

— How can the West-German Government prevent Pretoria from making their use of West-German know-how for uranium enrichment?

Bonn, 17th of December, 1975
Translated: January, 1976

(Wolff Geisler)
Deputy Chairman

Footnotes

1) confirmation by Haunschild to "Der Spiegel" (DS) (verbal statement)
2) FAZ 20.10.75 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
3) Ap 05.10.75
4) Handelsblatt (HB) 09.10.75
5) Frankfurter Rundschau (FR) 22.10.75
6) see photocopy of Haunschild's confidential letter to Dr. Roux in ANC brochure (September 1975), page 6
7) Bundestag, 193rd sitting, 16.10.75 Federal Parliament
8) State Secretary Hauff on 01.10.75 in the Bundestag
9) DS 20.10.75 Der Spiegel
10) DS 20.10.75 Der Spiegel
11) DS 20.10.75 Der Spiegel
12) Afrika-Post, Goslar, November, 1975
13) FR 11.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
14) Weser-Kurier, Bremen 07.10.75
15) Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) 14.10.75
16) total subsidy DM 50 million according to information supplied in Bundestag debate, 16.1075
17) Blick durch die Wirtschaft (BW) 14.10.75, FAZ 14.10.75 Die Welt (DW) 07.10.75
18) see Steag press statement of 09.04.74
19) Westfälische Rundschau (WR) 11.10.75
20) FR 11.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
21) DW 07.10.75 Die Welt
22) FR 07.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
23) Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt (DAS) 12.10.75
24) FR 19.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
25) BW 14.10.75 Blick durch die Wirtschaft
26) DS 20.10.75 Der Spiegel
27) FR 11.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
28) DS 13.10.75 Der Spiegel
29) FR 11.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
30) Government Press Conference 111/75 on 26.09.75

31) Financial Times 27.09.75
32) FAZ 09.10 75 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
33) FR 12.09.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
34) DW 12.09.75 Die Welt
35) Bölling on 06.10.75, quoted in FAZ 09.10.75
36) Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung (HAZ) 07.10.75
37) DW 07.10.75 Die Welt
38) Neue Ruhr Zeitung (NRZ) 09.10.75
39) HAZ 14.10.75 Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung
40) NRZ 09.10.75 Neue Ruhr-Zeitung
41) HAZ 14.10.75 Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung
42) reply to parliamentary question by Mrs. von Bothmer, M.P. on 15.10.75
43) Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) 07.10.75
44) HAZ 14.11.75 Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung
45) 16.10.75
46) HB 15.10 75 Handelsblatt
47) SZ 07.10.75 Süddeutsche Zeitung
48) State Secretary Moersch of the Foreign Ministry, in the Stuttgarter Nachrichten 10.10.75
49) Bulletin no. 117 of 25.09.75, p. 1164
50) Kölner Stadtanzeiger (KStA) 02.10.75
51) WR 11.10.75 Westfälische Rundschau
52) BW 14.10.75 Blick durch die Wirtschaft
53) FR 19.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
54) DS 20.10.75 Der Spiegel
55) FR 19.10.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
56) Nürnberger Nachrichten 13.10.75
57) Rheinische Post 14.10.75
58) Hessisch Niedersächsischer Anzeiger (HNA) 07.10.75
59) Bundespressekonferenz 26.09.75 Press conference, Fed. Govt.
60) Bundespressekonferenz 26.09.75 Press conference, Fed. Govt.
61) Bundespressekonferenz 26.09.75 Press conference, Fed. Govt.
62) Pressekonferenz 01.10.75
63) see DS 06.10.75 Der Spiegel
64) Bundeswehr aktuell 02.10.75
65) letter to the South African Ambassador at the EEC in Brussels, Dr. Naudé on 17.06.74
66) Naudé's letter to Sole, 02.07.74
67) FR, Stadtausgabe 25.09.75 Frankfurter Rundschau
68) Stern 02.10.75
69) Rand Daily Mail 18.10.75
70) 02.10.75 Die Welt
71) Bundeswehr aktuell 02.10.75
72) Stuttgarter Nachrichten 02.10.75
73) Rand Daily Mail 03.10.75
74) Rand Daily Mail 03.10.75
75) Pretoria News 21.11.75

WELCOME SPEECH BY BISHOP HELMUT CLASS, CHAIRMAN OF EKD, TO THE ARNOLDSHAIN CONSULTATION

Mr. President.

Madam,

Dear Friends from the All African Conference of Churches,

Tonight I welcome you heartily at this beautiful place in the Taunus mountains. (Please forgive me, if my English is not perfect owing to the lack of daily practice.) We are thankful that during the days ahead of us we shall be able to speak together about several important questions in greater detail than what was possible earlier before Nairobi and at the WCC Assembly itself. Because of a number of difficulties in timing we did not succeed to be together at Cairo. You know that the representatives of the Evangelical Church in Germany had prepared themselves to visit you in Africa. Now you have come to Germany. For this I want to thank you in the name of the Council of the EKD.

We, too, highly appreciate our deliberations here in Arnoldshain. Later tonight we shall try and come to a final understanding about the agenda. The main themes have already been enumerated from both sides.

Let me now first make a personal remark. I regret that my letter of November 10th, 1975, has hurt you and has caused the misunderstanding as if the EKD refused the ecumenical fellowship with the churches of Africa and would not take serious their legitimate concerns. That this was not the case, has hopefully become clear from the joint statement by Dr. Hild and Dr. Held.

Without going into details, I should like to mention three points:

1. If I see rightly, all our subjects for discussion have one thing in common. They are connected with Jesus Christ's Commandment to his Church to accept his peace and witness to it in the tensions of our time. During our discussions we shall certainly do well to remember the experience of Jesus' disciples on that first Easter day (according to St. John, chapter 20). They were troubled by very dismal questions. They looked for a way which would lead them further on. They were afraid of the established powers. Then Jesus stepped into their midst saying: "I bring you peace."

This peace is indivisible. It is our starting point as Christians, wherever we may live. We are to count upon it. The Lord, who Himself knows that all too often we fail. This leads us to repentance. A few weeks ago in the Alexandria Confession you, dear friends, have said: "We have not always kept close round Christ. We have spoken against evil when it was convenient. We have often avoided suffering for the sake of others, thus refusing to follow his example" (1 Peter 2,21).

In view of our own situation we fully accept these sentences.

2. The one, holy and apostolic church, which we confess, lives in very diverse contexts. Thus the task arises ever anew to think about and to realize the community in diversity. European Christendom and African Christendom are connected by a long history. We as participants from the EKD in this meeting are very conscious of African Christians and African churches and of the responsibility which we bear for each other:

   Today we do not meet as individuals, but as representatives of churches. Our concern is to come to as comprehensive concrete an understanding as possible as to what the church in Europe and in Africa has to do especially regarding the question of peace, reconciliation and human dignity, which are our common tasks today given to us by our Lord. In all this we depend on the one, who alone makes us free. There is no sphere of life, where we would be the property of other Lords, where we would not need to be justified and sanctified by Him.

3. I want to assure you that we are prepared to listen and to answer, to reflect and to learn together. This also applies to the subjects related to Southern Africa. We have experienced how quickly interests and loyalties can come into conflict with one another. Here we may not leave each other alone. We owe each other the questions, arguments and requests, to which the Gospel compels us. We shall have to try and recognize the factual and in many respects threatening processes in society and politics, in economy and armaments. We shall not be able to come to quick decisions on that, which, for reasons either of theory or of certain interests, is still disputed among experts, but we shall critically take note of it. Enough challenges remain.

   From my very heart I wish that God may lead us with His Holy Spirit in our discussions, that we may be joined together in truth and in love, and that we may constantly keep in mind the men, whom God loves.

Once more: Welcome to Arnoldshain.

REPLY TO BISHOP CLASS BY REV. DR. RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO, PRESIDENT OF THE AACC

Bishop Class,
Members of the EKD Council,
Christian friends:

First I would like, on behalf of the All African Conference of Churches, to extend to Bishop Class and members of the Council of Bishops of the EKD our profound appreciation for your cordial invitation extended to us to come here for discussions on very serious and urgent matters, and for the hospitality which you have extended to us since our arrival. We welcome this opportunity for these discussions. We believe that the matters that we shall be discussing during the next day and half are of such gravity that they require serious and prayerful reflection leading to concrete actions in Christian solidarity.

Ordinarily it is delegations from other churches ho come to Africa to explore, investigate and even challenge the thinking, actions and attitudes of the African churches and Christians on various issues. Our presence here tonight reverses this trend, and is indicative of the AACC's new strategy for tackling the critical issues relating to the elimination of white racism and minority rule, that have become important items on the agenda of our member churches. Our fervent desire is to have a frank and forthright exchange of views with you, on your Church's attitude towards your Nation's close collaboration with the racist and facist regime in South Africa and in Namibia.

As you are aware, the specific reason for our coming here is to follow-up the conversation begun in Nairobi with leading representatives of the Council of the EKD to WCC Fifth Assembly, on a nuclear co-operation between South Africa and state-owned and state-controlled industrial firms in your country. Our initial approach to your Synod had been dictated by several considerations. First, we both represent sister churches in the ecumenical family who share a common obedience to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that supercedes all other loyalities. This common obedience to our Incarnate Lord obliges us to act in solidarity against the demonic forces of exploitation which black people experience daily in South Africa and Namibia. Secondly, we are not unaware that the EKD has on many occasions publicly stated its opposition to the system of Apartheid and the violent institutionalization of white racism in Southern Africa. Thirdly, we are conscious of the many levels at which your Church enjoys the closest relations with your Government and other important sectors of your society. Fourthly, we are especially aware of the "special relationship" between the EKD and particular churches

inside South Africa and Namibia as well as the long involvement of German missionary societies in the work of evangelisation and caritative services in those countries. Because of all these reasons we dared to hope that together our two Councils, acting in the ecumenical spirit, could bring the pressure of public opinion in Africa and in Germany to bear upon those, motivated by the profit incentive, who could permanently entrench racial oppression and domination in South Africa, by means of bringing that country into the 'nuclear club". Naturally we regard this development not only as a dangerous and irresponsible escalation of the racial conflict in Southern Africa, but as a threat to peace in Africa as a whole.

It is common knowledge that South Africa already has the strongest and best equipped "conventional" armed forces in Africa. A few weeks ago, the South African Defence Minister Mr. P. W. Botha, announced a record defense budget for 1976-77 of 1,350 million Rand. The current issue of the American magazine NEWSWEEK reports an interview with the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, in which he implied "that South Africa was capable of defending itself with nuclear weapons". Even the Opposition United Party has joined in the demand that South Africa should acquire nuclear weapons. Why does South Africa need nuclear weapons? We must answer this question against the background of the Defence Amendment Act which was passed by the South African Parliament last January. This act allows South Africa to invade any African country south of the Equator, which it considers a threat to its system of Apartheid. The question for us here is: Do we as churches in Africa and in West Germany have a responsibility to repel this extension of the nuclear menace? You in this country know exactly what it means to live under the threat of nuclear blackmail. So we genuinely believe that it should not be difficult to reach agreement on our common Christian duty in this matter.

The other matters we will be discussing - investments, interchurch relations and white emigration to South Africa - are not unrelated to the nuclear co-operation issue. Reading through the documentation you have made available to us, it is clear that there exists a fundamental misunderstanding not only in regard to our respective approaches and strategies, but even more significantly, also with regard to our objective. For this reason it is important to emphasize that the commitment of the member churches of the AACC is unequivocally to the elimination of apartheid. We are not concerned, because Africans in South Africa and in Namibia are not concerned, about making apartheid tolerable by ameliorating its most inhuman and exploitative features. Our recent General Committee meeting in Cairo, last February, re-affirmed our long standing position when it urged South Africa "to begin immediately the dismantling of the structures of apartheid". We desire, we covet, we urgently need the support of the German churches to achieve this objective. We are not asking for

more, and we certainly will not accept anything less. We are here to try and make this understood; we hope we will succeed.

God help us if we fail! Time is not on our side. And yet we dare not give up hope. Not now; not as we meet during this Easter season, when we are still celebrating God's victory over the demonic forces of death and hell, torture and betrayal, denial and crucifixion.

No! No! No! We gather with renewed inspiration provided by our ressurrected and victorious Lord to engage in all the struggles that our prophetic calling to be watchmen on the walls of history demands. So let me plead with each one of us, and all of us together here, to listen, to hear and to take heed to this Word of the Lord to Ezekiel, as if it were being spoken to us today, here and now:

THESE WERE THE WORDS OF THE LORD TO ME: Man, say to your fellow-countrymen, When I set armies in motion against a land, its people choose one of themselves to be a watchman. When he sees the enemy approaching and blows his trumpet to warn the people then if anyone does not heed the warning and is overtaken by the enemy, he is responsible for his own fate. He is responsible because, when he heard the alarm, he paid no heed to it; if he had heeded it, he would have escaped. But if the watchman does not blow his trumpet or warn the people when he sees the enemy approaching, then any man who is killed is caught with all his sins upon him; but I will hold the watchman answerable for his death.

(EZEKIEL 33: 1-6)

We are here because our Chairman, Pastor John Gatu, has prophetically "blown the trumpet" giving warning of the nuclear sword that African National Congress of South Africa has identified. We are grateful to them for this. We are also grateful to the millions of Christians in Africa and in many congregations throughout Germany and elsewhere, who are following our discussions here with their prayers and intercessions. We wish to assure them that the All Africa Conference of Churches will never retreat from the struggle to liberate not only black people in Southern Africa but white people as well. Neither will we be neutral in the struggle to liberate our churches and yours from every false loyality that hinders us from being God's prophetic agents charged with the Divine responsibility of building a future for all men and women, free from every form of terror and inhumanity, and full of righteousness, justice and peace.

MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AACC AND THE COUNCIL OF THE EKD/ JOINT COMMUNIQUE

From May 11th to 13th, 1976, representatives of the AACC and the Council of the EKD met for a conference in the Evangelical Academy at Arnoldshain/Taunus. The objective of the meeting was to follow up the concerns expressed by the AACC to the EKD with regard to the question of nuclear collaboration between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa.

The AACC delegation of 13 members was led by the President of the AACC, Rev. Dr. Richard Andriamanjato, Madagascar, and the Chairman of the General Committee, Rev. John Gatu, Kenya. The delegation of the Council of the EKD had 13 members and was led by the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Council of the EKD, Landesbischof D. Helmut Class and Kirchenprasident D. Hild.

The conversations of the two delegations were open, forthright and marked by a disposition of mutual understanding. This pattern of dialogue can be considered as initiating a new style of communication between churches from different regions of the world.

In addition to nuclear collaboration the agenda of the meeting included questions concerning inter-Church relations, economic involvement, and investments in South Africa and Namibia.

I

Concerning the nuclear questions, information available about the processing of uranium and the state of nuclear activities in the Republic of South Africa were closely considered. Discussion centered particularly around a project of uranium enrichment, which has been debated in German and African publications for some time, and the construction of nuclear power plants in South Africa. In this connection it was agreed that the substance of the documentation of the African National Congress of South Africa has to be taken seriously.

The AACC delegation expressed the view that nuclear developments in South Africa pose a threat to peace in Africa. In view of the growing escalation of the racial conflict in South Africa and the political struggle for the liberation of the black majority population from white minority rule which is entering its decisive phase, this process has to be assessed as an extraordinary aggravation of the tense situation in Africa. This enhances the danger of a nuclear conflict. According to the existing information West Germany bears part of the responsibility for this development.

The delegation of the EKD expressed a position which differed in a number of details. On the basis of information they have received from the responsible German Government authorities, two issues needed to be clarified to the AACC delegation. First, that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany was not directly involved in nuclear collaboration with the Republic of South Africa. Secondly, the Federal Republic of Germany is of the opinion that any transfer of nuclear technology from Germany to South Africa is for peaceful purposes and falls within the framework of international controls.

Both delegations are aware that recently South Africa has declared its capacity to use its nuclear technology for military purposes. The EKD delegation agreed with the AACC delegation that utmost efforts should be made to deescalate the situation in Africa. In view of this the EKD delegation will recommend urgently to the Council of the EKD to publicly call upon the German Government to bring decisive influence to bear on private enterprises and companies to desist from any nuclear activity whatsoever in Southern Africa.

II.

The discussion on inter-Church relations centered mainly on EKD and its member Churches in relation with the German-speaking Lutheran Churches on the one hand and the African Lutheran Churches in Namibia and South Africa on the other hand.

It was agreed that new insights had been gained from the open discussions. It was suggested that the next step on the part of EKD will be to act with full realisation that in the final analysis the best pastoral care for the Germans in Namibia will be provided by African pastors. Therefore the closest fraternal relationship between German-speaking Churches and African Churches is now already an urgent priority. It was also agreed that the theological dialogue requested by the UELCSWA with the GELC in Namibia on the topic: "What is the Church today?" be actively encouraged.

III.

The important questions of investments and economic involvement in South Africa and Namibia could not be fully discussed.

The AACC delegation was of the opinion that the claim that the German Federal Government is not directly involved in nuclear collaboration with the RSA underscores the urgent need to bring pressure to bear upon private firms and banking institutions known to be inyolved in such collaboration. The AACC therefore urged the Council of the EKD to publicly call upon private enterprises and companies in West Germany to withdraw from investing in South Africa.

The EKD delegation expressed readiness to recommend to the Council of the EKD that it calls upon the German Federal Government to bring decisive influence to bear on private enterprises to desist from any nuclear activity in South Africa.

IV.

The two delegations reached unanimous agreement that:

1. Christians, the world over, share common responsibility to ensure that the created earth continues to be safe for the creatures of God.
2. The Church has an apostolic calling to respond in a prophetic way to the whole complex of theological, moral, economical and political issues which are inter-connected in the decision making processes between nations today.

The President of the AACC expressed his delegation's warm appreciation for the kind invitation and fraternal hospitality extended to them by the Council of the EKD.

The Chairman of the Council of the EKD responded by thanking the AACC representative for coming to Germany and thus helping to better understand the issues of concern to the African Churches.

Both delegations agreed upon the desirability on continuing these conversations in the foreseeable future.

LETTER OF BISHOP HELMUT CLASS TO THE AACC GENERAL SECRETARY FOLLOWING THE ARNOLDSHAIN CONSULTATION

EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE IN DEUTSCHLAND

DER VORSITZENDE DES RATES

To
The General Secretary of AACC
The Rev. Canon Burgess Carr
P.O. Box 20301
Nairobi , Kenya

Landesbischof D. Helmut Claß
7 Stuttgart 1, Postfach 276
May 14th, 1976

Dear Brother Burgess Carr,

Not knowing how to reach your honoured President Dr. Richard Andriamanjato and the Chairman of your General Committee brother Rev. John Gatu directly I send this letter containing a first reaction on our most friendful meeting at Arnoldshain to your adress in Nairobi. I beg you to express my deeply felt thankfulness for our frank discussion based on mutual confidence and our common faith in the presence of the Holy Spirit thus attaining concrete results as expressed in our communiqué. Our joint statement has been discussed and fully accepted by the Council of EKD as a whole and will be executed in the next days and weeks.

Moreover it will undoubtedly function as a reliable base for our future relations.

We hopefully expect a next meeting on your continent at any convenient time and pray to God that he might help us to stand and walk and work together for bringing the Gospel to the longing world and help us as Christians to contribute to peace and justice in this world.

Yours faithfully in Christ

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Gerokstraße 49
Telefon (07 11) 24 43 71, Telex 07-21 939

Kirchenkanzlei der EKD: 3 Hannover 21, Postfach 210 220
Herrenhäuser Straße 2 A
Telefon (05 11) 71 60 41, Telex 09-23 445

CANON CARR'S REPLY TO BISHOP CLASS

3rd June, 1976.

Bishop D. Helmut Class,
Chairman of the Council of Bishops,
Evangelical Church in Germany,
P. O. Box 276,
7th Stuttgart 1,
Federal Republic of Germany.

My dear Bishop Class,

First of all I want to send to you the warmest thanks of all of us on the A.A.C.C. delegation who participated in the recent conversations with representatives from the Council of the EKD in Arnoldshain. We are grateful to God for enabling us to come together in the fellowship of His Body, the Church, and discuss frankly matters of urgent and critical concern to the future of His world. We give praise also for the visible manifestations of the presence of His Holy Spirit which enabled us to overcome serious tensions which, if we had been relying only upon ourselves, would have caused our meeting to achieve nothing.

I wish to thank you also for the prompt action taken by the Council of the EKD in fully accepting our joint communique and undertaking to implement it as a whole immediately. We regard such prompt action on your part as evidence of your own appreciation of the grave and anxious situation we face in Southern Africa. We shall anxiously wait to hear further about the concrete actions that your Council might undertake.

Developments subsequent to our meeting have proven that we were too late in tackling this issue. South Africa already has the technology to enrich uranium and consequently can now boast of its capacity to defend itself with nuclear weapons. The announcement made last weekend that industrial firms in France have been awarded the contract to build atomic power reactors only means that South Africa will now be able to accelerate the speed with which she will acquire military nuclear capability.

Considering that neither France nor South Africa are signatories to the Non-Proliferation Treaty of Vienna (however inadequate its control mechanisms might be) you will agree that public opinion in Europe and Africa must be mobilised in order to stop **European** nuclear collaboration with South Africa. I must tell you honestly that, when I reflect upon Europe's long and many associations with Africa, the various interchanges of cultures, of religion, of civilisation, the

wide ranging relations in commerce, politics and trade, both malignant and benign, paternalistic and enabling, I am bewildered in trying to understand why it is that European nations show so much insensitivity to the genuine human aspirations of my people on this continent of Africa. I ask, what more does the European race want from my race? And why?

Having had the opportunity to meet with us in Arnoldshain, I am confident that you will understand the depth of feeling and sadness out of which I raise these questions. It is for this reason that I would hope that one concrete action the EKD might take would be an initiative in calling for an urgent meeting of the Executive Committee of the European Conference of Churches to discuss this matter and to mobilise concerted action on the part of all of the European Churches, aimed at persuading your Governments to bring pressure to bear upon France in order that she may not endanger world peace by introducing the nuclear menace on to the African continent. We have sent a telegram to the Chairman and General Secretary of the European Conference of Churches calling for such a meeting of its Executive. We urge you to support this initiative and to encourage action on all fronts, among students, trade unionists, local churches, the Anti-apartheid Movement, etc., that would demonstrate to the world that the people of Europe are not natural enemies of the people of Africa.

I hope that I am not asking you too much and I look forward to a positive response from you on this matter.

Finally, let me say a word of personal appreciation for the opportunity our meeting afforded for you and me to overcome our personal difficulties and misunderstanding. I trust that, having unburdened ourselves of the weight of the past, we can press forward together in this struggle that God is waging to transform our world into His kingdom of peace, justice and freedom.

Yours very sincerely,

Burgess Carr
General Secretary.

ccs. Rev. John Gatu - Chairman AACC General Committee
Rev. Dr. Richard Andriamanjato - President, AACC.

THE FRANKFURT-BASED PROTESTANT PRESS SERVICE, OFFICIAL PRESS AGENCY OF THE EKD, ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1976, FOLLOWING THE ARNOLDSHAIN TALKS:

Translation

EKD WANTS TO SECURE RENUNCIATION OF NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Arnoldshain, 14th May 1976 ,epd). The Protestant Church in Germany (EKD) will urgently recommend to the Federal Government to use its influence with West-German private firms and companies in order that they "renounce any nuclear activity in South Africa". This is one of the substantial results of the Consultation between representatives of the EKD and the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) which took place at the Protestant Academy Arnoldshain (Taunus) from May 11th to 13th. A Communiqué issued at the end of the talks states the African side maintained the opinion that nuclear development in South Africa represents a threat to peace for which also the Federal Republic is to be held responsible.

In contrast, the EKD representatives pointed out that the Federal Government did not maintain direct nuclear cooperation with South Africa and that the government held the view that the transfer of nuclear technology to South Africa served peaceful purposes. However, both parties to the Consultation agreed that utmost efforts ought to be undertaken to eliminate the tense situation in South Africa. The representation by the EKD to the Federal Government is to serve this purpose. No agreement was reached on the question of a general stop of investments in South Africa and Namibia. The AACC representatives requested the Council of the EKD to pubicly call upon private companies and firms to disengage from investments in South Africa. These questions, as the Communiqué termed it, "could not be exhaustively discussed."

A further topic was the relationship of the EKD and her member churches to the German speaking and the African Lutheran churches in South Africa and Namibia. In this respect the Communiquè says that "in the end the best pastoral care for the German in Namibia will be provided by African pastors." (To be checked against English text. Transl.). This is why as close relations as possible between the German speaking and the African churches were of highest importance already now.

The cause for the meeting at Arnoldshain were disagreements between the AACC and the EKD dating back to last November on the question

of nuclear cooperation between Bonn and Pretoria. The chairman of the Council of the EKD, Dr. Helmut Class, had sharply rejected reproaches of the chairman of the AACC General Committee, John Gatu, directed at the Federal Government. In his welcoming address in Arnoldshain, Class, who led the German delegation, now expressed regret that through his November letter the impression had been created as if "the EKD denied the ecumenical bonds with the churches in Africa and did not want to take seriously their justified concern." That this was not the case had become evident through the declaration of the vice-chairman of the EKD Council, Dr. Helmut Hild, and the president of the External Affairs Office of the EKD, Dr. Heinz-Joachim Held, in which it is stated that the EKD "stands on the side of her African sister churches."

Participants in the Consultation on the German side were in addition to Class and Hild, inter alia, President Dr. Hans Thimme (Bielefeld) and the vice-president of the head office of the EKD, Erwin Wilkens. On the African side participated in addition to Gatu, inter alia, the president of the AACC, Dr. Richard Andriamanjato, and the AACC general secretary Canon Burgess Carr. The exchange of opinion was held, according to Thimme, "with openness and tenacity/toughness". He was pleased and grateful the meeting showed that both sides were able "to formulate something jointly and to support concrete demands, before the public and the world." The talks are to be continued at a date still to be negotiated.

(5/101 FS-Voraus 14.5 = advance telex May 14th)

GERMAN CHURCH CONDEMNS LINKS WITH RACIST SOUTH AFRICA

— by Kenyahk Best (Reprinted from the East African Standard)

The Council of the Evangelical Church of German is to ask the Federal German Government to dissuade German private enterprises from nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

The E.K.D.'s decision represents a full endorsement of a joint communique issued by delegations of the E.K.D. and the All Africa Conference of Churches at the end of a consultation held at Arnoldshain, near Frankfurt, May 12-13 1976. to discuss West German nuclear dealings with South Africa.

It marks an important breakthrough for the A.A.C.C. which had since last November urged the E.K.D. to bring pressure upon the Federal Government and private firms to stop their nuclear collaboration with S.A. But the German churches had said there was no such collaboration.

However, even as the A.A.C.C. delegation was making final preparations for the Arnoldshain meeting, South African Prime Minister John Vorster announced that his country could "defend itself with nuclear weapons."

This statement substantiates the claim by both the A.A.C.C. and the African National Congress of South Africa that South Africa had no other intention for nuclear technology than for military purposes, as a means to further entrench its iniquitous and dehumanising apartheid system.

Well Prepared

In any case, the A.A.C.C.'s 13-man delegation comprising church leaders, theologians and scientists, was well prepared for the talks.

The German delegation also included leading members of the E.K.D. Council of Bishops, theologians and at least one scientist. The discussions were frank and forthright. There were two clear and precise questions which the A.A.C.C. put to their German hosts.

"Have you or have you not found out that there has been nuclear collaboration between West Germany and South Africa? If you have found that there has been, what have you done about it?"

The German answer was yes, but it was somewhat delayed as a scientist attempted to lecture the Africans on "clean" and "dirty bombs", and to suggest that no collaboration, but only a comparison of information had been exchanged between German and South African scientists.

He said further that South Africa had developed its own system for enriching uranium, and that this system could not produce plutonium to the point where it could make nuclear bombs.

Plutonium

However, scientists on the A.A.C.C. delegation refuted these claims. "The difference between making and not making a bomb is plutonium", said one.

"Those making bombs are doing so by enriching uranium whether stolen, borrowed or bought. The point is to get plutonium 240, for an unstable bomb, or 239 for a stable one."

South Africa was using the "jet nozzle system" for enriching uranium, and had got it from the partly state-owned enriched company STEAG, in exchange for 20 per cent of all enriched uranium South Africa produced.

There were other facts which the A.A.C.C. delegation placed on the table:

— that the "jet nozzle system" had been developed by the state owned Society for Nuclear Research at Karlsruhe
— that the Minister for Research, Herr Mattofer, had refused to released 50 million Deutsche Marks for this project, but discovered 17 months later that his Secretary of State had given instructions for release of the funds
— that after the German Cabinet did not vote on export licence and export credits, several German banks put up the money to finance the project in South Africa
— that the West German company MAN has got a contract to build the compressor for breaking, refining and enriching uranium.

Bare Facts

Faced with these bare facts, the German delegation had to admit the truth. But they insisted that their government had said it was not involved, "and our government has never lied to us." "All governments are liars" one A.A.C.C. delegate retorted with obvious amazement at the naivety of the German remark.

To be sure, the Arnoldshain talks were belated, for South Africa already has the bomb. But they were significant in two respects: First, they forced the German churches to rise to their prophetic responsibility to their government and society. Second, there are still West German companies and banks involved in nuclear collaboration with South Africa; and depending on how much public consciousness the church is able to arouse in Germany and how seriously the Federal Government takes the church, further collaboration can be stopped.

Should this not happen, Africa and the world would know where Germany stands on apartheid.

Power Plants

West Germany is not the only Western power in nuclear dealings with South Africa. Only last week General Electric of the United States of America announced that it had requested government permission to export two atomic power plants to South Africa at the cost of 2,000 million dollars and for the export of enriched uranium, until such time as South Africa's own enrichment plant comes into operation.

Experts say the two plants will enable South Africa to make 'scores of atomic bombs, as big as that dropped on Hiroshima in 1945."

In the light of this new development, Africans have got to begin taking very seriously the prospect of a thermo-nuclear war on the continent. It seems as though the entire Western alliance is determined to see South Africa acquire nuclear weapons.

South Africa is already integrated into the NATO spy network, which means that she can detect any kind of movement from the entire South American continent down to New Zealand and across Africa.

Control

What can stop South Africa from giving herself a further "right" to go North of the equator? A scientist on the AACC delegation stated that with facilities for production of enriched uranium, plus direct control over combined deposits of South Africa and Namibia (which equal 1 20 per cent of the world's total deposits), there was nothing to stop the apartheid republic from developing the hydrogen bomb thus becoming a thermo-nuclear power. This is beyond the desire to entrench apartheid.

Why do they want to arm South Africa with nuclear weapons? The South African Parliament has passed the Defence Amendment Act giving itself the "right" to invade any African country south of the equator.

Not a single Western power has raised questions about South Africa's acquisition of nuclear weapons. Instead, the Americans, the Germans, the Dutch, the Swiss and the French are all vying for a piece of the nuclear action.

It could mean the determination to protect apartheid for all time by the total elimination of its enemies - the entire race of Africans. It could also mean, one noted African thinker said,"the reduction of the Black man to a specimen in the zoos of the West".

APARTHEID AND THE CHURCH: E.K.D. TO TAKE A NEW LOOK

— by Kenyahk Best (Reprinted from the East African Standard)

Protestant Churches in West Germany, by their policy of extensive personnel and financial support for German-speaking Churches in South Africa and Nambia, are helping to maintain the apartheid structures.

But they have accepted a suggestion by the All Africa Conference of Churches to take a complete new look at this policy so as to improve relationships all around and contribute to the dismantling of apartheid. The suggestion for an overhaulingof policy was put to the Evangelical Church of Germany (EKD) during the talks at Anorldshain, when the A.A.C.C. delegation laid certain hard facts on the table.

First among them was that the EKD provides money and personnel to German-speaking Lutheran Churches in South Africa and Namibia. and pays the pastors from Germany three to eight times the salary of black Lutheran pastors.

The Foreign Office also provides an annual subsidy of one million Deutsche Marks for 36,000 German-speaking Lutherans who are already among the most privileged and affluent people in South Africa. As for black Lutherans who number in the hundreds of thousands, the Foreign Office offers DM 360,000.

No Relationship

The situation would not look so bad if there were a healthy relationship between black and German-speaking Lutheran churches. But there is no relationship at all. The German-speaking Lutherans are said to be among the most rabid racists in South Africa and among the staunchest defenders of the status quo.

It was the son of a missionary from Berlin, for instance, who became the chief ideologist of apartheid. He served some time as State Secretary for Bantu Administration. Germans hold leading positions in government and private enterprises.

One black South African theologian told the Arnoldshain meeting that pastors sent from Germany have no contact with other Lutheran pastors in the country. Dr. Manas Buthelezi, South Africa's most outstanding Lutheran theologian, said he had been invited to preach

in most other churches at home except German-speaking Lutheran churches.

NAMIBIA

The same situation prevails in Namibia where pastors are sent from Germany for the Evangelical Lutheran Church (GELC) even though there are enough black Lutheran pastors around to serve this church. Some of them speak fluent German and served in churches in Germany. Dr. Lukas de Vries of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches of Southwest Africa has informed EKD that black Lutheran churches do not appreciate the sending of pastors from Germany.

During the Arnoldshain talks, Rev. John Gatu admonished the EKD that it was in their own self interest and that of their kith and kin in Namibia and South Africa, to promote better relationship among German-speakingand black churches. He recalled that Presbyterians faced the same problem in pre-Independence Kenya. Pastors sent from Scotland to serve white churches had nothing to do with Kenyan pastors. But when Uhuru came, it was to the Kenya pastors that these white came running for help and guidance.

The Germans listened attentative and showed a positive attitude. They argued that sending pastors from Germany was an attempt at establishing a dialogue with the African Lutherans. But the African Lutherans say they are not interested in dialogue with pastors from Germany, but with German-speaking Lutherans **inside** Namibia

There is an even wider rift between GELC and the black United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southwest Africa (UELCSWA). The split is fundamentally theological and has to do with the very nature of the church. The German-speaking Lutheran church has accused the black churches of having become a political party. This is because of a letter which Bishop Leonard Auala, head of the Lutheran Church of Ovambokavango, and Rev. Paulus Gowaseb of the ELCSWA addressed to the South African Government on June 30, 1971, hailing the decision of the World Court which, on June 21, 1971,ruled that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal. The letter called on South Africa to take appropriate measures to end the illegal occupation so that the oppressed masses of the country may be liberated by peaceful means. The black churches have therefore called for a consultation with the German-speaking churches to resolve this question.

A Joint Communique issued at the end of the Arnoldshain talks referred to "new insights" that had been gained from "the open discussions". It suggested that "the next step on the part of the EKD will be to act with full realization that in the final analysis the best pastoral care for the German-speaking people of Namibia will be provided by African Pastors."

The Arnoldshain Communique noted, as a matter of urgent priority, "the closest fraternal relationship between German-speaking and African churches." It was also suggested that German-speaking churches in Namibia should respond fully to the invitation by UELCS WA for a dialogue on the topic "what is the Church Today?"

The AACC delegation raised the more fundamental question of the relationship between African churches and the EKD as a whole. Canon Burgess Carr, AACC General Secretary, suggested that this relationship should be basically through the EKD Foreign Office, rather than through the various German missionary and service agencies. Direct contact with the Foreign Office would be more wholesome and useful, especially on vital issues affecting the life and missions of African Churches.

After the talks, this reporter asked Bishop Heinz Joachim Held, president of the EKD Foreign Office, how he felt about the discussions on inter-church relationships. He replied, "I hope that we in the E.K.D. can elaborate soon new concepts and ways of inter-church relationships with our African sister churches, taking into account the spirit of our conversations at Arnoldshain" He said he was convinced of the need to continue these consultations "for critical assessment of our ecumenical fellowship in order that we may be more faithful to the calling that we have received from our Lord Christ."

THE EAST AFRICAN STANDARD EDITORIAL

The STANDARD Nairobi, Tuesday, June 1, 1976.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR THREAT

CONTRARY TO EARLIER speculation that a nuclear deal was about to be concluded between South Africa and an American multi-national corporation, General Electric, it has now been confirmed that the contract to build South Africa's first nuclear power station has been awarded to a group of French companies. It is further indicated that the French consortium (Framatone, Alshton and Spie Batignolles) was chosen because General Electric and other firms had faced political opposition to the scheme in their own countries.

The Chairman of All Africa Conference of Churches, the Rev. John Gatu, last week spelt out the churches' stand on the issue when he said that the Church in Africa was categorically opposed to the proposed nuclear deal between South Africa and General Electric. Mr. Gatu appealed to the American Government not to grant an export licence to the firm.

But that was not the first time that U.S. firms have been linked with reports of military collaboration with the racist regime of Pretoria. It was reported earlier this year, for example, that South Africa had bought six giant Lockheed Hercules planes from the United States ostensibly for transport purposes but in all probability to reinforce her ever-growing air force.

It is quite obvious that South Africa has been greatly shaken by the events in Angola and Mozambique (particularly the former) as well as by the current guerilla war in Rhodesia. The Angolan case in particular was a nightmare from which it will take South Africa a long time to recover.

Not only did the South African troops sent into Angola by Vorster suffer an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Black M.P.L.A. forces reinforced by Soviet and Cuban support, but the outcome of the events in that country confirmed for her the fears that she had always nursed regarding liberation movements being no more than bridgeheads for Communist infiltration in Africa. This is why South Africa has continued to spend such a high proportion of her budget on defence. Last year, for example, she devoted a sum of 1,332 million dollars to defence alone. And in arming herself to the teeth she has found her best allies in the Western world who are apparently as worried as she is about the future of this part of the African continent. What their collaboration with her in her nuclear programme amounts to is to entrench

the iniquitous regime for all time and to render the African liberation struggle both meaningless and superfluous.

This becomes all the more perplexing and difficult to understand when viewed against recent statements by the American Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger (whose country also happens to be a senior member of the NATO alliance), not only committing his country to majority rule in Rhodesia, but also warning South Africa that it had less time than it thought before putting an end to apartheid, and asking her to bring about a reconciliation of South Africa's peoples for the benefit of all.

Other Western countries which have been collaborating with South Africa in defence matters and her present nuclear programme include West Germany, Switzerland and Holland. It is in fact understood that South Africa acquired the technology for enriching uranium from a partly state-owned German company in exchange for 20 per cent of all enriched uranium produced by South Africa. It is quite possible that if such an agreement had not been reached, it would have taken South Africa much longer to make a breakthrough in this field of nuclear technology.

The above developments will certainly have the most devastating impact on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. They indicate that the West, in spite of their occasional protestations to the contary, are in fact solidly behind the present regime of South Africa. They also show that South Africa will stop at nothing to defend herself and her system from any external threat particularly from freedom fighters and the African countries supporting them. The South African government has indeed only recently passed the Defence Amendment Act which empowers it to invade any country South of the Equator.

The real significance, however, of South Africa's determination to become a nuclear power is not perhaps that she is going to drop bombs on African countries, be they north or south of the equator, but that this show of strength to those who might threaten her security will effectively dissuade them from entertaining any hopes of eventual Black majority rule in South Africa.

Above all she wants to ensure that her policy of establishing Bantu homelands is accepted as the only solution to the racial problems of South Africa.

Why the West should go along with her in this bid to frustrate democracy is difficult to understand. Or is it that they have lost faith (which they never had in the first place) in the ability of the Black man to determine his own destiny?

LETTER OF AACC CHAIRMAN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ON THE SWISS - AMERICAN - SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR CONNECTION.

25th May, 1976.

The Reverend Dr. W. Sterling Cary,
President,
National Council of the Churches of Christ,
United States of America,
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, N. Y. 10027,
U. S. A.

My dear Dr. Cary,

I write to convey to you our grave anxieties over reliable news reports reaching Nairobi that the **General Electric** Company, a United States multinational corporation, and the Swiss Company **Brown-Boveri,** acting as a consortium, are very likely to be awarded a contract by the South African Electricity Corporation ESCOM, to build two nuclear power reactors at Koeberg in South Africa. You will probably be aware that the All Africa Conference of Churches has been a persistent opponent to nuclear collaboration between South Africa and other industrialised nations in the West. Last November, following the publication of a dossier by the African National Congress of South Africa exposing nuclear collaboration between the Federal German Republic and South Africa, I cabled an urgent appeal to the Evangelical Church in Germany to bring pressure to bear on their Government and on state-owned and state-controlled industrial firms to desist from enabling the **apartheid** regime in Pretoria from obtaining nuclear capability. Two weeks ago the President of the All Africa Conference of Churches and I led a high-powered delegation to discuss this issue with a delegation of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany. I enclose a copy of the Joint Communique issued at the end of our discussions.

When we first raised this issue, we warned that giving South Africa nuclear capability would only reinforce the iniquitous policy of Apartheid, which has been universally condemned as a "Crime Against Humanity"; and result in a most dangerous escalation of the increasingly violent racial confrontation in Southern Africa. Naturally, this development would have the ultimate effect of threatening peace and security in Southern Africa, in the whole of Africa and in the world.

Unfortunately our worst fears have been confirmed. Last January the South African Parliament passed the "Defence Amendment Act" which would allow that country to attack any African country, south of the Equator, that it considers a threat to its policies of racial oppression and exploitation. Even while we were meeting in Germany the American magazine, **NEWSWEEK** published an interview with the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, in which he implied that South Africa was capable of defending itself with nuclear weapons. In response to a question by Mr. De Borchgrave, Mr. Vorster said, "We are only interested in the peaceful applications of nuclear power. **But we can enrich uranium, and we have the capability. And we did not sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty."**

With the assistance of African nuclear experts, the All Africa Conference of Churches has made a thorough study of the development of South Africa's nuclear technology. We know that the uranium enrichment process they are using is the "jet nozzle separation process" developed by West Germany's Society for Nuclear Research (GFK) in Karlshruhe. This process is protected by a worldwide patent held by the GFK and the German industrial firm STEAG. On October 20, 1975, the West German magazine **Der Spiegel** reported that STEAG had granted a sub-licence to the South African Atomic Energy Board (AEB) and its subsidiary, the Uranium Enrichment Corporation of South Africa (UCOR), for the "jet nozzle separation process."

All the evidence available indicates that this "jet nozzle separation process' is too expensive for economic purposes. Its only justification must be found in its military use. As such, Mr. Vorster's implied threat has come to us as no surprise.

Against this background, you will certainly appreciate our alarm and utter indignation over the participation of General Electric in aiding South Africa to become an impregnable fortress of oppression and a threat to world peace.

I am writing this letter on this, the Thirteenth Anniversary of the birth of the Organisation of African Unity - a Day observed throughout Africa as AFRICA LIBERATION DAY. I am also conscious of the fact that your country is celebrating its bi-centennial of national independence. I need not tell you how much the noble ideals which inspired your country's struggle against colonialism have stirred the aspirations of oppressed peoples throughout the world, not least in Africa. How is it then that, even as you celebrate two hundred years of national liberation in America, you use the same occasion to become involved in entrenching the most obscene and diabolical system of human oppression ever devised by man to exploit his fellow man?

A month ago your country's Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, was travelling in Africa enunciating a new policy that appeared to put the United States of America on the side of the struggle for justice and liberation in Southern Africa. We have followed with interest the backlash to Dr. Kissinger's African tour, in full recognition of the exigencies which the current US election campaign impose upon the Ford Administration. However, if General Electric is awarded the contract to build nuclear power reactors in South Africa, and if the Congress grants the necessary export licence, we shall be forced to conclude that the US Government's policy towards the whole of Africa is based on calculated deception. We feel very strongly about this. Any nuclear cooperation between the United States and South Africa will serve only to establish firmly in the minds of every single African man and woman that your country, its verbal pronouncements about support for human rights and self-determination notwithstanding, is committed to perpetuate South Africa's system of brutal oppression through nuclear blackmail. This is the highest form of immorality, and I plead with your Council to protest on our behalf in the strongest possible terms and with the most effective means.

I have no doubt that you will do this. I am aware of the actions taken by your Council and its member churches in discouraging investments and commercial relations between American companies and South Africa. The **Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility,** sponsored by and related to your council has done, and continues to do a highly commendable job by encouraging and assisting churches and church groups to prepare shareholders resolutions asking for the end of sales to the South African Government and its agencies; resolutions requesting the non-expansion of facilities owned and operated by US corporations; and campaigns to end loans to the South African Government and its agencies. This has not been without success.

In this same spirit, I urge you to call upon your member churches, severally and jointly through your Council, to bring maximum pressure to bear upon the United States Congress with a view towards preventing them from granting General Electric the export to build nuclear power plants in South Africa. I understand that a Senate Committee has already begun Hearings on the request from General Electric. We have a complete dossier on the development of South Africa's nuclear technology which we would readily make available to you. In addition, because of the high priority we attach to this matter, we are prepared to send a delegation to the United States to discuss this matter with American Church Leaders, and if needs be, make direct representation before the Senate Committees now conducting the Hearings.

I have no hesitation in believing that you will fully share our fears and deep distress over this grave situation, and take the urgent actions

necessary to ensure that our people in South Africa are not eternally doomed to live in everlasting domination by the white racist minority that has enslaved them for over three hundred years already.

The hour is past midnight: I hope that it is not late for you and us, acting jointly, to fulfill our common Christian and ecumenical responsibility to work for an end to racial exploitation and to build God's Kingdom of Justice, Righteousness and Peace in our world.

With warmest Christian and fraternal regards,

Yours sincerely,

John Gatu
Chairman of the General
Committee of the
All Africa Conference
of Churches.

ccs. The Organisation of African Unity
United Nations Anti-Apartheid Committee
African National Congress of South Africa
SWAPO
Ms. Clair Randall.

CABLE OF THANKS BY AACC CHAIRMAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY TO THE PROTESTANT FEDERATION OF FRANCE FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO FRANCO-S.A. NUCLEAR DEAL.

COURVOISIER President and Nicholes,
General Secretary,
Protestant Federation of FRANCE

ON BEHALF AACC MEMBER CHURCHES WE THANK YOU FOR PROMPT PROTEST BY FEDERATION PROTESTANTE DE FRANCE AGAINST FRANCO-SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR COLLABORATION STOP WE APPRECIATE CONSISTENT OPPOSITION OF FRENCH CHURCHES COMMA BOTH PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC COMMA OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS TO FRENCH ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA STOP THE UNTIRING INFORMATION CAMPAIGN WAGED BY QUOTE REFORME UNQUOTE ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS EXAMPLARY OF THE KIND OF ENABLING SUPPORT **EUROPEAN CHURCHES** CAN GIVE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION COMMA PEACE AND JUSTICE IN AFRICA STOP WE URGE YOU SUPPORT OUR APPEAL TO CEC EXECUTIVE TO MOBILIZE MEMBER CHURCHES STUDENTS AND WORKERS GROUPS AND EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION GENERALLY TO STOP FRANCE FROM BUILDING SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR POWER REACTORS

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

GATU CHAIRMAN
CARR General Secretary AACC.

POSITION OF THE PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY ON THE TRANSFER OF ARMAMENTS.

In the same way the Federal Republic feels itself obliged to take steps to ensure its external security, the developing countries also wish to protect their national frontiers by means of armed forces, and this wish must be respected. And often these forces carry out many internal duties as well. Nevertheless the Churches view with deep concern the constantly increasing efforts of many developing countries to obtain armaments. By deliveries of modern weapons, by all kinds of help in the installation of military equipment, by training native personnel, and recently by the provision of know-how and the means to create armaments industries, the industrial countries are contributing more and more to this armament. Whereas ten years ago the world armaments exports of 1.5 thousand million dollars still went half and half to developing and industrial countries, in 1973 the industrial countries imported weapons to not quite the same amount, but the developing countries 7.7 thousand million dollars' worth. For 1975 the volume of world trade in armaments is given as 1 thousand million dollars, of which the greater part went to developing countries.

Enormously increased arms purchases of this kind, tie down the resources of many developing countries to a massive extent. They lose foreign exchange, needed for capital goods vital for development as well as for consumer-goods for the civil population. Even from the point of view of the industrial countries the soaring increase in trade in armaments is of dubious value, for it means the loss of market opportunities for civilian products. In areas of conflict in the Third World, the importation of modern weapons frequently leads to an arms race, and increases the danger that armed clashes may escalate into wars, not only claiming many human victims but causing enormous devastation, thus bringing to naught long years of development efforts.

Although the share of the Federal Republic in the international arms trade is small, it has considerable political importance. Consequently the Churches insistently warn against any relaxation or evasion of the laws concerning the export of arms. In particular, no arms must ever be delivered to areas of tension. The Churches also urge the Federal Government to use its influence in EEC and NATO to halt the export of arms to developing countries in the interests of the inhabitants of the Third World and in the cause of international peace.

TELEX MESSAGE FROM THE AACC GENERAL SECRETARY TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ... BICENTENNIAL ...

TO: MS. CLAIRE RANDALL GENSEC NCCCUSA
TELEX NO: WUI TELEX 62977 (NEW YORK)

PRIMO:
ON OCCASION BICENTENNIAL U.S. INDEPENDENCE comma CHURCHES AND NCCs MEMBERS OF AACC comma GENERAL COMMITTEE AND STAFF SEND YOU NCCCUSA AND AMERICAN CHURCHES WARMEST FRATERNAL CONGRATULATIONS stop

SECUNDO:
TODAY AFRICAN CHURCHES AND PEOPLE ARE STRUGGLING TO LIBERATE THEIR CONTINENT FROM TYRANNY OF DEPENDENCY comma ALIEN DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION IN THE SAME WAY YOUR PURITAN ANCESTORS DID TWO CENTURIES AGO stop WE RECALL WITH LEGITIMATE PRIDE THE SUPREME SACRIFICES MADE BY MANY AMERICANS OF AFRICAN ORIGIN IN YOUR WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION comma AND FOR THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE UNITED STATES AS WELL AS THEIR SUSTAINED CONTRIBUTIONS TO BUILDING AMERICA INTO WHAT SHE HAS BECOME AND IS TODAY stop INSPIRED BY IDEALS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION comma WE COVET SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING AND ACTIVE SUPPORT OF U.S. CHURCHES AND PEOPLES FOR OUR ENDEAVOURS TO TRANSLATE EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN FAITH INTO CONCRETE ACTIONS THAT FREE US NOT ONLY FROM SLAVERY OF SIN BUT FROM THE SIN OF SLAVERY stop

TERTIO:

MAY GOD BLESS YOUR NATION IN ITS THIRD CENTURY OF INDEPENDENCE WITH RENEWED FAITH AND PROPHETIC COURAGE TO REORDER YOUR NATIONAL POLICIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ACCORDING TO THOSE HALLOWED AND AWESOME FIRST PRINCIPLES THAT ARE WELLSPRINGS OF MOTIVATION AND DEEP SPIRITUAL RESERVES OF PERSERVERANCE FOR OPPRESSED CHURCHES AND PEOPLES THE WORLD OVER WHO ARE STRUGGLING TO TURN VALLEYS OF TROUBLE INTO GATES OF HOPE (HOSEA 2:15)

FOR YOUR AFRICAN SISTERS AND BROTHERS IN CHRIST
BURGESS CARR

CABLE OF AACC GENERAL SECRETARY TO GENERAL SECRETARY OF SECAM*

FATHER OSEI GENSEC SECAM ACCRA GHANA
HAVE SENT FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO FATHER ZOUNGRANA QUOTE WE APPEAL TO YOU JOIN AACC MEMBER CHURCHES APPEAL TO FRENCH CHURCHES TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THEIR GOVERNMENT TO STOP FRENCH INDUSTRIAL FIRMS FROM BUILDING NUCLEAR POWER REACTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA STOP ON APRIL 13, 1973 IN A MEMORANDUM ON THE ARMS DEAL THE STANDING COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH EPISCOPATE AND THE COUNCIL OF PROTESTANT FEDERATION OF FRANCE ADOPTED A VERY DEFINITE POSITION REGARDING THIS MATTER STOP CONSISTENT WITH THAT POSITION IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IF YOU WOULD ADVISE THE FRENCH EPISOPATE THAT AFRICAN CHRISTIANS REGARD FRANCO-SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR COLLABORATION AS A POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THE OPPRESSIVE APARTHEID REGIME THUS SERIOUSLY THREATENING AFRICA WITH A NUCLEAR CONFLICT STOP FRATERNAL REGARDS.

GATU CHAIRMAN
GENERAL COMMITTEE
CARR AACC GENERAL SECRETARY

UNQUOTE

CARR
CHURCHCON.

*** SECRETARIAT OF EPISCOPAL CONFERENCES OF AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR**

LETTER OF AACC GENERAL SECRETARY TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON THE CONVENING OF THE THIRTEENTH SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENTS

30th June, 1976.

Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Churches and National Councils of Churches, members of the All Africa Conference of Churches and in my own name, I extend to you, and through you, to the current Thirteenth Summit of African Heads of State and Government warmest felicitations and fraternal greetings. This Summit comes at a most critical time in our continent's struggle for liberation with dignity and self-reliance. Our ardent prayers are that your deliberations will produce concrete and realizable result, so that the barriers of oppression and exploitation may be totally eliminated.

In this regard we would urge that the actions you propose to take in relation to "Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa" **must** include the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). There is irrefutable evidence that the uranium enrichment plant under construction at Pelindaba in the Transvaal, South Africa, is exclusively for military use and hence a more dangerous threat to peace in Southern Africa and our entire continent and the whole world than the much publicised sale of French nuclear power reactors.

The African National Congress of South Africa has documented the Federal Republic of Germany's cooperation with South Africa through the participation of State-owned and State-controlled industrial companies and the active support of the Federal Government in Bonn. The Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany continues to wage a relentless campaign against that country's irresponsible complicity in further strengthening South Africa's iniquitious policy of apartheid.

The All Africa Conference of Churches has condemned the sale of atomic power reactors to South Africa by France and has called for the total mobilisation of African and International public opinion against Franco-South African nuclear cooperation. We are convinced, however, that it would be a dangerous mistake to have our concern about the development of South Africa's nuclear military capacity diverted away from the substantial and significant assistance provided by the Federal Republic of Germany and her partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

We therefore urge the Summit to firmly condemn the West German-South Africa nuclear collaboration, to call upon the Federal German Government to abandon and prevent any nuclear and military collaboration with the Republic of South Africa, and to give prominence to the Federal Republic of Germany among countries against which concrete punitive and retaliatory measures must be taken by African States, on all fronts, on account of direct or indirect support for apartheid and minority rule in South Africa.

I would be grateful if you would re-assure the Summit of the All Africa Conference of Churches' total solidarity with the Organisation of African Unity in all that you undertake for the liberation and unity of the African peoples.

Highest consideration and brotherly regards.

Yours sincerely,

Burgess Carr

His Excellency, Mr. William Eteki Mboumua
Secretary General
Organisation of African Unity
Port Louis
Mauritius.

All Africa Conference of Churches,
P. O. Box 20301, Nairobi.
General Secretariat

TELEX OF AACC CHAIRMAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY TO CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN CHURCHES OVER FRANCO-SOUTH AFRICA DEAL

APPEL CHAIRMAN
- CEC OIKOUMENE GENEVA
WILLIAMS GENERAL SECRETARY

GRAVE CONCERN OVER ANNOUNCEMENT FRENCH INDUSTRIAL FIRMS TO BUILD SOUTH AFRICA POWER REACTORS AND AWARE OF SEVERAL OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES INTEREST IN NUCLEAR COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA COMMA RECALLING RECENT STATEMENT BY MR. VORSTER CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY NUCLEAR CAPABILITY AND RECOGNISING NEITHER FRANCE NOR SOUTH AFRICA SIGNED VIENNA NPT COMMA WE URGE CEC EXECUTIVE TO DISCUSS MATTER AND APPEAL FOR POSITIVE ACTION BY EUROPEAN CHURCHES COLLECTIVELY WE FURTHER URGE CEC EXECUTIVE MOBILISE EUROPEAN AND INDIVIDUALLY TO INFLUENCE GOVERNMENTS STOP PUBLIC OPINION THROUGH APPEAL TO ITS MEMBER CHURCHES COMMA NATO COMMA STUDENT AND WORKERS GROUPS AND ANTI-APARTHEID GROUPS TO ACT IN SOLIDARITY AGAINST ENTRENCHING APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA COMMA THREATENING PEACE IN AFRICA AND THE WHOLE WORLD BY ENABLING SOUTH AFRICA OBTAIN NUCLEAR AND EVENTUALLY THERMONUCLEAR POWER STATUS STOP AS CHURCHES WE HAVE RESPONSIBILITY TO DEVELOP CREATURES OF GOD UNQUOTE

AND PROMOTE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN PEOPLES BASED ON LOVE COMMA JUSTICE AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY COMMA AND NOT ON RACIAL EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION BUTTRESSED BY EXTENSIVE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND MADE IMPREGNABLE BY NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL STOP MORE THAN COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES ARE AT STAKE STOP AS WE AGREED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EKD COUNCIL IN ARNOLDSHAIN RECENTLY QUOTE CHRISTIANS THE WORLD OVER SHARE COMMON RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE THAT CREATED EARTH CONTINUES TO BE SAFE FOR THE HUMAN RACE

FRATERNAL REGARDS

JOHN GATU - CHAIRMAN

BURGESS CARR - GENERAL SECRETARY

ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES

REPLY BY CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN CHURCHES

The Rev. John Gatu, Chairman
The Rev. Canon Burgess Carr, General Secretary
All Africa Conference of Churches P. O. Box 20301
P. O. Box 20301
NAIROBI/Kenya

Geneva, 11th June 1976.

GGW/as

Dear Brethren,

Dr. André Appel and I have received your urgent cable expounding your very profound concern for the latest developments in the question of the supply of nuclear plant to South Africa. I regret that, due to some technical difficulties, I have not been able to inform you earlier of our reactions and intentions.

Immediately upon receipt of your cable, I made a copy of it, in view of its length and the importance of its contents, and sent it express to Dr. Appel. As soon as possible after that Dr. Appel and I had a long telephone conversation about the whole question, since we, like many Christians, churches and ecumenical bodies in Europe, share your profound concern not only for the latest development in the matter of the Franco-South African agreement about nuclear plant installations, but indeed for the whole dangerous complex of questions concerning human rights and the armaments race.

We have decided to give the widest possible publicity to your cable and issue an appeal for such actions as may be possible. Therefore, today I have sent out, also in the name of Dr. Appel, a general letter, of which I am sending you a copy herewith.

We shall follow this matter with attention and would be glad to be kept acquainted with the development of your thinking in the AACC.

With every good wish for your important work, and with cordial personal greetings,

Yours sincerely,

Glen Garfield Williams.

cc: Dr. André Appel, Strasbourg.

CIRCULAR LETTER OF CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN CHURCHES TO MEMBER BODIES

To the
— Member Churches of the CEC,
— Members of Presidium and Advisory Committee,
— National Ecumenical Organisations,
— Ecumenical Organisations related to CEC,
— Information Services

Geneva, 11th June 1976.

Dear Friends,

Dr. André Appel, the Chairman of the CEC, and I have received an urgent cable from the Rev. John Gatu and Canon Burgess Carr, respectively the Chairman and General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches, expressing their profound concern at the recent agreement between a French consortium and the government of South Africa about the supply of nuclear plants to the latter country.

The text of the cable is attached to this letter.

It is an unfortunate circumstance that, due to the date on which the agreement was announced, the cable reached Geneva a few days after the conclusion of the annual Joint Meeting of Presidium and Advisory Committee of the CEC, which would have provided the best possible forum for a discussion of the problem.

This being so, Dr. Appel and I have consulted by phone and we have agreed that we should aim at the widest possible diffusion of this concern of our African brethren, with which we would completely identify ouselves.

Therefore, in agreement with Dr. Appel, I am distributing this letter and the copy of the cable to as many churches, church agencies, ecumenical organisations and information agencies as possible, **with the urgent request that they carefully study the matter and take whatever action they find possible.** It would be helpful if we could be informed of any actions undertaken. We are happy to report that the French Protestant churches have already protested strongly to their government.

At a time when the problems of human rights and of the arms market are causing such grave concern, we are sure that all will be deeply disturbed by this latest serious development. It is a challenge to the

churches and ecumenical organisations of Europe to make their voices heard in solidarity with our African brethren. For this is not simply an African question, nor one of Franco-African relationships. It is part of a world question and we Europeans are specially involved.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,
Glen Garfield Williams.

UNITED NATIONS
Press Section
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.
(FOR USE OF INFORMATION MEDIA - NOT AN OFFICIAL RECORD)

Press Release GA/AP/565
2 June 1976

APARTHEID COMMITTEE EXPRESSES APPRECIATION TO NETHERLANDS FOR STAND ON NUCLEAR REACTOR FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The Chairman of Special Committee Against **Apartheid,** Leslie O. Harriman (Nigeria), in a letter on 1 June to the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands, John Kaufmann, stated the following:

"My attention has been drawn to reports that the Netherlands Government has decided not to permit the supply by Netherlands corporations of components for a nuclear power station in South Africa, and that the South African regime has suspended negotiations with the United States-Netherlands-Switzerland consortium and decided to obtain the nuclear power station from a French consortium.

"I would request your Excellency to convey to the Netherlands Government the great appreciation of the Special Committee for its action. It is a commendable act of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, the independent African States and all opponents of **apartheid** all over the world."

UNITED NATIONS
Press Section
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.
(FOR USE OF INFORMATION MEDIA - NOT AN OFFICIAL RECORD)

STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN OF APARTHEID COMMITEE ON PROPOSED SALE OF NUCLEAR PLANT TO SOUTH AFRICA

The Chairman of the Special Committee Against **Apartheid,** Leslie O. Harriman (Nigeria), today issued the following statement:

"On behalf of the Special Committee Against **Apartheid,** I would like to express my satisfaction that the South African regime was obliged to suspend its negotiations to obtain a nuclear power plant from a consortium of corporations from the United States of America, the

Netherlands and Switzerland. The Special Committee commends all organizations and political leaders in the United States of America and the Netherlands who have opposed the sale of a nuclear power plant to the racist regime and drawn attention to the grave implications of such a sale.

"At the same time, I regret the announcement that a French consortium has received approval to supply a nuclear power plant to South Africa. I earnestly hope that the Government of France will abrogate the deal, in accordance with its declarations on opposition to **apartheid.** Such an action would be highly appreciated by the oppressed people of South Africa and all opponents of **apartheid** and racism all over the world.

"I wish to make it clear that no credence can be placed in so-called 'guarantees' by the Pretoria regime that it will use the plant and technology for peaceful purposes. This regime has constantly and flagrantly violated its obligations under the United Nations Charter and has only recently been condemned by the Security Council for launching naked aggression against Angola. It is constantly threatening independent African States which support the cause of freedom in southern Africa. It has not signed the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty.

"I would like to hope that the Government and people of France will not fail to respond to the appeals from the oppressed people of South Africa, the independent African States and the United Nations. I would hope that they will not place considerations of profit over the principles of freedom espoused by them.

"My attention has been drawn to the following statement by the Reverend Dr. C.F. Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute of South Africa, and Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, an official of the Institute now in exile in the Netherlands:

> 'There is in our opinion no doubt that the development of a nuclear industry in South Africa is undesirable at this point of time. We make this statement because we believe that access to nuclear power by the South African Government would strengthen their hand not only against the voteless majority within South Africa but also against economically captive communities around South Africa.
>
> 'The development of nuclear energy in South Africa would consequently constitute an increase in the existing threat to the peace of the sub-continent. A white minority government in South Africa with nuclear technology would be even more disdainful of the aspirations of both the black majority and Organisation of African Unity demands.'

"I commend the Reverend Dr. Beyers Naude and Mr. Kleinschmidt for their principled and courageous statement and draw it to the attention of all Governments and institutions concerned."

LETTER OF THE AACC GENERAL SECRETARY TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY IN SESSION, DAR-ES-SALAAM

31st May, 1976.

His Excellency, Joaquim Chisano,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Peoples Republic of Mozambique, and
Chairman of the Liberation Committee
of the Organisation of African Unity,
Dar-es-Salaam,
Tanzania.

Dear Comrade,

I am writing to send to you, and through you to the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, the warm felicitations and prayerful best wishes of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

As you are aware, the All Africa Conference of Churches regards itself as one of Africa's liberation movements. As such we would like to assure you and your Committee of our total solidarity with you at this critical juncture in the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to liberate themselves from white racism, colonial exploitation and apartheid.

My dear Comrade, we are very much aware that at the present stage of our struggle, counter-revolutionary and reactionary elements will intensify their efforts to delay the inevitable liberation of our peoples still under racist domination and exploitation in Southern African. The stakes are high, the risks and sacrifices costly.

The eyes of all of the peoples of Africa are focused upon your meeting now in Dar-es-Salaam. There are certain issues on which we would like you to take unequivocal and irrevocable decisions. The **first** of these is a clear and forthright re-affirmation of the fundamental principle that the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa must be waged by the people themselves. Other progressive and liberation oriented nations and peoples may assist them, but it is they who must lead in determining the objectives of their struggle and identify the strategies appropriate to the achievement of those objectives. **Secondly,** I would urge the Liberation Committee to take a clear and irreversible decision to recommend to the forthcoming OAU Council of Ministers and Summit of Heads of State that no Member State of the Organisation of African Unity should recognise the so-

called independence of the Transkei, scheduled to be proclaimed next October 26th. It is our hope that such a recommendation from the Liberation Committee will be endorsed by the forthcoming OAU Council of Ministers and Summit of Heads of State in Mauritius, and that such an endorsement would include the further recommendation that the Non-Aligned Conference in Colombo, Sri-Lanka would support the OAU's position on this matter.

Comrade, I fear that if we do not take this course of action there is every likelihood that, as in the case of dialogue with South Africa, our ranks may be broken. Even worse, we may be confronted at the next regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly with a situation in which we may be obliged to barter in the Security Council with the Super Powers the admission of the faked independence of the Transkei into the UN for the admission of the Peoples Republic of Angola.

Thirdly, the AACC is gravely concerned about the development of South Africa's nuclear capability. We reject the view held by certain prominent African Heads of State that it does not matter to the liberation struggle that South Africa develops nuclear capability for military purposes. As you may be aware, we have already protested to the Germans, and more recently to the Americans, against their involvement in the development of South Africa's nuclear capability. Now, according to international press reports, it is the French who have been awarded the contract to build nuclear power reactors for South Africa. What is called for at this time is a massive mobilisation of African Governments, Trade Unions, press and public opinion against France, parallel to our reaction in the 1960's over the French atomic tests in the Sahara.

Comrade, I urge the Liberation Committee to take a clear stand on this matter and to call upon all OAU Member States and every sector of public opinion in Africa and among the progressive forces around the world, to act urgently in order to stop France from enabling the racist regime in Pretoria to threaten our continent with nuclear blackmail.

Finally, I am painfully aware that you will have to deal in this current session of your Committee with certain grave matters affecting the unity of the Liberation Movements, notably the African National Council of Zimbabwe, the South-West African Peoples Orgnisation, and the African National Congress of South Africa; as well as the solidarity in the struggle between these Movements and your Committee, on the one hand, and certain Member States of the Organisation of African Unity on the other. You have my fervent prayers that you and your fellow Comrades on the Liberation Committee will be guided by Divine inspiration to keep always in perspective the comprehensiveness of the struggle and the resolute determination of Africa's enemies not to lose ground.

With this in view, I have no doubts that the measures I have drawn to your attention will receive the serious consideration they deserve and that your Committee will find the modalities to heal past wounds, overcome debilitating rifts and tensions, and enable Africa to rise in solidarity and with determination to continue this struggle until every inch of our continent is liberated and every one of our people attains his and her God-given right to live in human dignity, justice and peace.

ALUTA CONTINUA.

With sentiments of highest esteem and warmest friendship.

Yours very sincerely,
Burgess Carr.

ccs. His Excellency, Mr. William Eteki Mbouma, Secretary General, OAU, Lieutenant Colonel Hashim Mbita, Executive Secretary, OAU Liberation Committee.

APPENDIX

AACC - EKD - Consultation at Arnoldshain

List of Participants

All Africa Conference of Churches/AACC

Rev. Dr. Richard Andriamanjato,	AACC President, President of the Church of Jesus Christ In Madagascar and Mayor of Tananarive.
Rev. John Gatu,	Chairman of AACC General Committee, General Secretary, Presbyterian Church of East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya.
Rev. Canon Burgess Carr,	General Secretary, AACC, Nairobi, Kenya, Anglican Priest, Liberia.
Pastor Harry Henry,	AACC Vice President President, Methodist Church, Cotonou, Benin.
Mrs. Esther Coker,	AACC Vice President, Leading lay woman, Methodist Church of Sierra Leone.
Mr. Kenneth Y. Best,	AACC Director of Information, Nairobi. Liberian Journalist.
Mr. Kofi Appiah-Kubi,	Executive Secretary, Faith and Selfhood of the Church, AACC, Nairobi
Mr. Simon Phiri,	Secretary for Social & International Affairs, AACC, Nairobi.
Dr. Gabriel Setiloane,	South African Theologian, Gaberone, Botswana.
Dr. Benjamin Nwosu,	Science Advisor, Federal Government of Nigeria, Lagos.
Dr. Arungu-Ollende,	Science Advisor, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, New York.
Mr. Ben Amatilla,	SWAPO Representative in Europe, Copenhagen.

Dr. Aaron Tolen,	Development Advisor, Evangelical Church of Cameroun, Yaounde.

2. Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland/EKD

Bishop D. Helmut Class,	Chairman of the Council of the EKD, Bishop of the Evangelical Church in Württemberg, **Stuttgart.**
Church President D. Helmut Hild	Vice Chairman of the Council of the EKD President of the Evangelical Church of Hessen-Nassau, **Darmstadt**
Präses D. Hans Thimme,	Member of the Council of the EKD Präses of the Evangelical Church in Westphalia, **Bielefeld.**
Bishop D. Hans-Heinrich Harms,	Member of the Council of the EKD Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in **Oldenburg.**
Dr. Helmut Müller,	Member of the Council of the EKD **Marburg.**
Präsident Dr. Heinz Joachim Held,	**President of the Foreign Office of** the EKD **Frankfurt.**
Bishop D. Hermann Kunst,	Plenipotentiary of the Council of the EKD to the GERMAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, **Bonn.**
Prof. D. Ulrich Scheuner,	Prof. of International Law
Vice President Erwin Wilkens,	Vice President of the Home Office of the EKD, **Hannover.**
Oberkirchenrat Dr. Günter Linnenbrink,	The Home Office of the EKD **Hannover.**
Oberkirchenrat Dr. Werner Hoerschelmann,	Africa Secretary, Foreign Office of the EKD.
Pastor Dr. Günther Metzger,	**Stuttgart.**
Oberkirchenrat Claus-Jürgen Roepke,	Press Officer, Home Office of the EKD, **Hannover.**

ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES
CONFERENCE DES EGLISES DES TOUTE L'AFRQUE

General Secretary:
The Rev. Canon Burgess Carr

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PRESS RELEASE

AACC STATEMENT ON SOWETO

No. 138

NAIROBI 18th August, 1976: The All Africa Conference of Churches has attacked the South African regime for its continued murder of Black school children as well as the detention of Black leaders including Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned former leader of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

In a press statement released in Nairobi today, the AACC called upon South Africa to "initiate immediately the machinery for dismantling of apartheid". The AACC also called upon "South Africa's allies, particularly the Western countries whose trade, investments, sale of arms and nuclear technology have turned South Africa into an impregnable fortress of oppression, to exert all political, moral, diplomatic and other pressures upon South Africa, and to make a positive and constructive response to Black South Africans in their just struggle, rekindled by the Children's Revolution".

Expressing dismay at the negative and brutal response which South African regime has made to the legitimate aspirations of the Africans, the AACC said, "The murder of innocent Black school children fighting the just cause of their people, and the detention of several African leaders including Mrs. Winnie Mandela...show not only the stubborn resistance of the racist regime to African demands but the degree to which the South African government has shielded itself from reality and closed its eyes to the winds of change that are sweeping southern Africa.."

Commenting on the announcement by the racist regime that Africans can now build or buy homes in "white areas" without having to become citizens of the homelands, the AACC Statement described it as "a pretentious concession to Black demands designed to deceive international public opinion".

"The struggle of Black people is not for the right to lease land, but for their full human rights and self determination", the statement added.

It called upon Mr. Vorster to release immediately all detained and imprisoned Black leaders; abandon for ever the "scandalous homelands policy" and heed the appeals of Black Church leaders, the Black People's Convention and the Black Parents' Association, as a genuine attempt to bring white and Black South Africa to the conference table and avoid the "catastrophe of an armed confrontation".

Reaffirming its commitment to the liberation movements, the AACC expressed hope that the prophetic demonstrations of the Black children of Soweto, Nyanga and other Black townships would help to bring about "a situation in South Africa where the 'Wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them'" (Isaiah 11:6).

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ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES
General Committee Meeting
Tananarive, Madagascar
April 3 - 12, 1973.

LETTER TO THE CHURCHES IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

As Churches we have followed with keen interest developments in your nations leading to greater European security and economic unity. We welcome the efforts you are making to overcome the ideological and political barriers that have been the cause of enormous suffering to mankind in two World Wars.

We are, however, gravely concerned about reports that "powerful quarters in NATO are urging the extension of NATO activities into the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean" - (cf. **The Christchurch Press**, January 9, 1973, New Zealand).

We recognise that the issues involved in this matter are many and complex. For example, we are aware of the West's concern to protect the sea-lanes vital to its economic survival. At the same time you will appreciate our anxiety over a confrontation between the nuclear powers in the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.

Several of your nations are already deeply involved economically, and some of them even militarily, in Southern Africa. We, therefore, regard developments in NATO as actions that will inevitably further buttress the oppressive, racist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa with the military and technological power of your nations.

Meeting as we are, on the Island Republic of Madagascar, located in the Indian Ocean we appeal to you to use your influence to dissuade your governments from further complicity with the racist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa.

We address ourselves to you as Churches because we consider you to have a moral responsibility to align yourselves with us in the struggle for justice and human dignity on our continent. We hope you will share our conviction that the pursuit of justice and reconciliation in Southern Africa is indivisible from the pursuit of world peace that your nations are striving to achieve.

We would remind you that it was missionaries from your countries who first preached the "good news" of liberation through Jesus Christ in most of our lands. Many of their bones lie buried in our soil. We have had the unique opportunity to experience the vitality of the faith they preached and for which they gave their lives, in this nation where we are meeting today.

We, therefore, urge you to join us in appealing to all the governments in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation not to transfer the "Cold War brinkmanship" that has menaced the world for the last 25 years, and inflicted incalculable suffering upon peoples of Indo-China to our part of the world. We are terrified by the possibility that Southern Africa might well become the Vietnam of the latter part of this century.

We would be grateful to hear from you about the actions you take in response to this appeal. We are ready to meet with you in order to discuss this situation further if you should consider that necessary.

Yours in Christ.

"IN THIS APPROACHING HOURS OF CRISIS"

"A MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM BLACK SOUTH AFRICA"

Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, March 14th, 1976

Umntwana Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi:

My dear Sons and Daughters of Africa, I greet you in the name of Mother Africa, and in the name of Freedom.

I dare say that this is perhaps the most important of my yearly pilgrimages to Soweto, if we look at it in the context of the present political climate in Southern Africa.

Last year, on the 22nd of January, I issued a friendly warning to the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster that if we as Blacks did not reach fulfilment through his policies as appeared to me to be the case, that we would have no option but to resort to unrest and possible civil disobedience. I did so with all the responsibility in the World, as I sensed the euphoria that pervaded the whole of White South Africa, as a result of the Prime Minister's so-called Detente policy.

I made it quite clear when I spoke as I did, it was because I was hoping that violence could be warded off, as a result of my warnings, but there is not even a ripple in the pen as far as the sharing of power and decision-making by all South Africans, is concerned.

Detente fails

My brothers and sisters today we meet in what is no doubt one of the most dramatic moments of South African history. We have been through 150 years of white domination, and have been subjected to 66 years of oppression. This has been perpetrated against us in the name of Western democracy, and Christian Civilization, by White manipulation of the Houses of Parliament.

Despite all this length of time today the very foundations of Apartheid Society have been shaken. Ten years after Prime Minister MacMillan's "Winds of change" warning, who can deny today that these winds of change are blowing not North or West of us, but right on our borders?

Prime Minister Vorster's detente policy has not succeeded. Not only has it not succeeded but White South Africa has burnt her fingers in Angola. The pace of events and the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa is gaining momentum, to the extent that the country's all-

White Parliament cannot dictate events in Namibia for very much longer. Mr. Vorster's influence in Zimbabwe has proven to be less influential than his Black counterparts.

Every hour of the day, the time is drawing nearer, when we will see White South Africa's enemies encamped on South Africa's borders.

Kaffir forgets his place

I know that the Prime Minister, if I am to judge by his past attitudes, is going to think, with many White South Africans that I am speaking as I do because I am a kaffir who has forgotten his place. This thought makes many White South Africans mad, as there is nothing they loathe as a kaffir who has not been successfully kept in his place. A place not assigned for us by the Almighty, but which our White Countrymen have assigned for us for generations through the only power they have used to maintain the status quo, which is through the barrel of the gun. Many White elections have been fought on the basis of who can best keep the kaffir in his place.

What precluded the Prime Minister from consulting me about his so-called detente policy, in the light of my contacts in Black Africa? I think it is about time the Prime Minister and White South Africa as a whole, realise that they cannot expect support from Black South Africans in their White struggle to maintain a position of white dominance in Southern Africa. Mr. Vorster did not bother to consult a single black leader on his detente initiatives. If he thinks he can disdain Black opinion in this way and then hope that Blacks will offer themselves to be cannon fodder, I think that this is a grave mistake. He has excluded Blacks from the National deeision- making machinery of the country and in this way he has excluded us from the responsibility of making his foreign policy effective.

Majority rule

South Africa has a place in Southern Africa, it has a very important role to play in the Continent of Africa. History now demands, however, that what is South Africa's rightful place should be determined by the majority of the people of this country.

It is still not too late to call for a White change of heart. I believe this not because I think Whites are going to have a sudden spasm of benevolence towards blacks. I believe that now the White can see the writing on the wall and can realise that the country must move towards majority rule.

It is this single principle that is central to any question to do with Southern Africa's politics. This is the burning question in

Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Angola. It was the burning question in every other African State.

Black hand of friendship

I realise what I am doing here today, by saying these things as I do but they have got to be said. If they were not said, I would not be responsible. I am offering a Black hand of friendship to the Whites of South Africa, probably for the last time. Yes, it is a Black hand, but it is still a hand of friendship.

Our White Society is a sick Society. South Africa's malady is the refusal of the Whites to share power with Blacks. Whites in this country can do not only one thing to help themselves and they can do only one thing to help us to help them. They must be prepared to share power. This must be said and it falls to my lot to say this today.

The Apartheid Society nurtured with a plethora of discriminatory laws for more than a quarter of a century, which we Blacks despise, has already been overtaken by history. In this eleventh hour, in this last hour, some things need to be said in this country. They need to be said for Blacks and they need to be said clearly and in unequivocal terms.

It is my experience that Whites do not in fact look into the future. The future they are creating is too horrible to contemplate. We Blacks can look into the future. In the Black future there is hope, there is liberation and there is the realisation of human dignity.

Hope

We Blacks are concerned first and foremost with liberation. We want to be free from oppression. We want to be free from the stigma of being unworthy of full citizenship and unworthy of having a real vote in the country of our birth. We want to be free to be equal to all other men. We want to be free to participate in majority decisions about the future of our country and our common destiny with other South Africans.

We disdain the political role into which the white minority power elite has relegated us.

We have no Black administration other than those provided by a frightened Government who will not allow us Blacks to compete with them for positions as members of Parliament on merit, in the constituencies of South Africa.

We have no choice but to live where the Whites say we must live, do the work which the Whites say we can do. We cannot choose where to live. Our children are not free to pursue their own lives and choose their own careers.

I sympathise with you my Brothers and Sisters because just like you, I am not free. Like you, I do what I can. Together we suffer oppression. Together we must throw off the yoke of oppression.

The whole World must be told that we despise what some people euphemistically call 'Separate Development' or 'Separate freedoms', which we know to be nothing more no less than White Baasskap. South Africa is one country, it has one destiny and one economy. Those who are attempting to divide the land of our birth, are attempting to stem the tide of history. They have not got the strength to hold history back. History will triumph over apartheid. Nowhere in the World have minorities prevailed against the majority indefinitely. The minority in our country have already lost their grip on reality. They cannot succeed for very much longer.

We will not perpetuate oppression

White policy in South Africa has for decades been leading to the present position in which:

1. Political treachery stalks the land. Treachery by the Government, secret police, bribery, manipulation, detention without trial. Banning of people, banning of organisations are political treachery as far as the majority of South Africans are concerned.

2. Constitutionally and institutionally the politics of constructive reconciliation is not possible in our country if the Government persists in its headlong plunge into political stupidity.

3. The machinery of oppression which is the most subversive element in our country does not make it possible for the Black majority of the country to play a positive role in the corridors of power.

Since 1910 successive governments have planted seeds of destruction in our country. We Blacks do not believe that our Society can be defended morally or theologically, or militarily. The majority of Blacks will not find it in their hearts to die on the country's borders to defend a system which is morally repugnant, dehumanises them, and mocks God Almighty for creating us Blacks, also in his image.

When we Blacks look at Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, we desire to take our place with our Black Brothers in their new World.

We, the majority of Blacks, are primarily concerned with our liberation. We are concerned with our liberation not because we want to exploit the white elite in the way in which they have exploited us for generations. We have seen enough oppression in this land we love. We will not perpetuate oppression. We want to live in peace, and to pursue policies which will bring peace in our land, as well as peace between the States of Southern Africa.

Revolution inevitable

I know that many of my White Countrymen will interpret these words as if I am advocating a revolution. In the words of the late Senator Robert Kennedy:

> "A revolution is coming — a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough: Compassionate if we care enough: Successful if we are fortunate enough but revolution which is whether we will it or not. We can affect its character: We cannot alter its inevitability".

It is entirely up to White South Africa whether the revolution that is unfolding will be peaceful or bloody.

Black responsibility and Black contributions to peace can only come after liberation in South Africa. This liberation is not possible within the context of apartheid Society.

Homelands rejected

I challenge anyone to prove to me that the majority of Blacks want the so-called independence which is offered to our Reserves now called 'Homelands.' The people who have elected me have given me no mandate to opt for the so-called Homeland. They have toiled for generations to create the wealth of South Africa and do not want to abandon their birth right. They intend to participate in the Wealth of the land.

No single Black leader will dare go to his people to decide the independence issue on the basis of a referendum. Some people are prone to mis-assess the Black political scene. Because there is conflict among Black groups they believe that there is not an underlying Black Solidarity when it comes to the question of liberation.

No room for divisions

My brothers and sisters, you know as well as I do, that there is no room for division among ourselves when it comes to the question of liberation.

The divisions that appear to be among us are only debates about the methods which should be employed in order to liberate ourselves.

The vast majority of Blacks are united in their opposition to apartheid and its consequences.

Beyond any divisions which appear to be present in Black Society, there is a unity based on a deep-rooted Black Nationalism. It is a reality which political theoreticians cannot verbalise out of existence.

The bricks of black Nationalism are many and varied. There are ethnic groups, there are tribes, there are trade unions, drama Societies, Black Church groups, Student Organizations, cultural groups and many others.

We are not afraid to say what we think of government policies. Some of us have never been afraid to say so, and no one can accuse us of trying to cash in on the present fluidity in the Southern African political situation.

Therefore we tell the Prime Minister today that the policies of his government are unacceptable to us, we tell him that he will never persuade the majority of us to accept his policies because we all know that

the government's economic policy is designed to perpetuate the privileged position of Whites.

The government's social policy makes humiliating assumptions about the Black man's dignity.

The government political policy is the moat around besieged white self-interest.

The government's foreign policy pursues ends which support apartheid and discrimination.

National Conventions

We want to go beyond negative criticisms of the apartheid society we so despise, to provide alternative policies for our country.

I believe it is essential that we hold a series of representative National Conventions representing all shades of black opinion.

I have called for a Black National Convention on economic matters, to take place in August, if all goes as planned.

It is warranted to call for a National Convention on the so called Homeland Independence issue.

I also call for a National Convention on South Africa's Foreign Policy.

Let us do for ourselves what Mr. Vorster's White Parliament does not do for us. It is now time for the Blacks of the country to recognise that in the divide and rule policy of the government, no provision is made for Blacks to enter into the decision-making process on crucial national issues which affect the majority of the people.

We must therefore act unilaterally in defining South Africa's policies. It is the policies we Blacks define that will be heard and heeded by our Brothers in Africa as well as in many other quarters of the World.

I am hoping that we will invite international Speakers to these Conventions. We will hear their wisdom. We will then close our doors and go into a Black caucus where we will deliberate among ourselves.

It is high time the privileged in this Country heard the voice of the under-privileged. They have failed to do this so far. It is this willful persistence in social and political stupidity which produces despair and anger, which in turn creates racial tension.

I see very serious problems arising in the very near future if the Government's policies result in a Black majority rejecting the contributions from the White minority. It is good that black Nationalism born in 1912 in Bloemfontein with the founding of the African National Congress, has had a fillip with the emergence of black consciousness. This dignity must receive the dignity it deserves. It is my hope that the operative majority in this contry will be a Multi-racial majority.

Church

I do not believe for one moment that God created men to be divided among themselves. There was no apartheid in the garden of Eden, and there is no apartheid in Heaven. Why should there be apartheid in between?

Let the Church in South Africa support the move of the majority in their movement towards constructive unity. The Church has in the past only paid lip service to this ideal. Some churches have not even done that much. Black Christians must recognise that they have to take the lead at National level. There may be protests from some White Churchmen, when they hear what I have said today about the Church, but my answer is that the Church is rapidly losing credibility among Blacks. If Churches are convinced that they have acted properly, then they have only convinced themselves. The Church has not been effective in its support for the Black liberation struggle although outstanding individual Churchmen have witnessed. It is time for Black Christians to take the lead in this matter.

The Church must take active steps towards reconciliation in this country before it is too late. There will be no true reconciliation until the Blacks are liberated. The Churches, must act with conviction and what is more they must act in public.

Let the people be free. Let the land be free and let the Church be free.

History overtakes Apartheid

I have in the past called upon the Whites to come to their senses. The Whites are politically underdeveloped and they need assistance. The federal formula I offered them was a compromise proposal and I must say with considerable emphasis that such reconciliatory offers will be increasingly difficult to offer in the Southern Africa which is now emerging.

South Africa will never be the same again. I implore the Whites to turn away from the kind of future the Government's present policies are creating. I implore the White Government to release Black political leaders who are now withering in jail My brothers and sisters, when I lie awake, thinking about you and your suffering, I know that thousands of you get up in the dark to get on crowded buses and trains to go to a menial job for a pittance. Most of you work without security and social benefits, and are denied real Trade Unions. I know you are exploited. I know you feel anger because there seems to be no hope of improving your circumstances.

My message to you is that history has overtaken apartheid. There is hope for the future. Justice will prevail, and you will be given the opportunity of participating in the building of a better South Africa.

My Message to you, however, is that there is no magic formula to change the present Racist Regime, into a garden of Eden overnight. The sweat of the Blackman built the ecnomic wealth of South Africa which is denied to the Sons and Daughters of South Africa. It will be by the sweat of the Blackman's brow that a new future will be built.

I appeal to your sense of realism to act constructively. We do not build a better South Africa by doing something in the future. We build a better South Africa in what we do now.

Inkatha or Inkathas

We need to organise ourselves into a disciplined body, to support each other, plan with each other and act with each other.

We cannot wait until the Parliament in Cape Town falls before we achieve that diginty which comes from self help and from making the best of the miserable mess we find ourselves in. Blacks in every corner of the country are shrugging off the dependency mentality and this philosophy has been expressed in the formation of Inkatha Ye Nkululeko YESIZWE. (Crown of Freedom of the Nation. Ed.)

In Inkatha people are getting together. It is a movement of ordinary men and women in ordinary walks of life: such as you see here today. As this movement gains momentum we will produce a ground swell which will bring about change in South Africa.

There can be no reconciliation between a Master and a Servant, between a Lord and Serf. Reconciliation is a concept which applies only to equals. Equality in dignity is achievable now.

Inkatha is enabling the ordinary man and woman to articulate their positions, to formulate solutions to their dilemma and seek answers to their questions.

I hope my Colleagues in other provinces will use their limited political dispensation to make Inkatha proliferate throughout South Africa.

Inkatha has grown phenomenally during the past year. It is continuing to grow and will continue to grow steadily.

Black oppression has no ethnic boundaries

Some people might think that when I talk of freedom and liberation I am thinking of the Zulus as distinct from my other African brothers in South Africa. This is far from being the case. There is no Zulu freedom that is distinct from the Blackman's freedom in South Africa. Black oppression has no ethnic boundaries. We have a common destiny as Black people. We have indeed a common destiny even with our White Countrymen who have rejected this idea for several generations. These are the implications of a just and non-racial society.

White breathing space

It seems to me most unfortunately that as we face this greatest challenge, we have also to lose some of our brothers and sisters through a balkanisation which can only give White domination a breathing space and further prolong our people's suffering. I say these words not in a spirit of castigation. I respect my brothers in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana, far too much to attempt to do this. This is a lament, because my heart bleeds for who knows what lies in store for them, or for us, in this ideological separation imposed on us by the White minority power elite through their unilateral parliamentary decisions.

These are not words of condemnation but words of deep sorrow. It will only be tragic if the path they are treading is never trodden by the majority of Blacks after them. Mr. Vorster's stand seems to spell a life of perpetual destitution and step-children status for black people within their so-called "independence", confined to 13 per cent of South Africa's surface area. I hope it will never be too late for us as brothers to save one another from the political wilderness where there can only be want, insecurity and desperation.

God Bless Africa
God Bless all her Children
Strength in the struggle
Hope for the future
Power is Ours
AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!
MATLA! ARONA!

NATO ARMS SOUTH AFRICA

by a Special Correspondent

The South African Government; with the active assistance of some Western European nations, was able, quite legally, to infiltrate NATO and build a communications and surveillance brain centre whose capabilities go far beyond its requirements.

About 20 miles from the naval base of Simonstown, and up into the mountains of the Cape, lies a new military communications centre whose capabilities go far beyond anything South Africa – by herself – is likely to need this century. John Vorster's government has spent many millions of pounds on *Project Advocaat*, an advanced system of computers, radar scanners, and communications equipment buried beneath tons of concrete and lead in a shell safe from radio-active fallout.

On the radar screens, the scope of *Project Advocaat* is immediately clear. It covers not only the Cape sea route, in which the South African government has an obvious interest, but the entire continent of Africa. It extends westwards to South America, and in the east, to Bangladesh. The computers are fed information from South African long-range reconnaissance aircraft, and from what officials call "other sources". Effectively, it provides minute-by-minute records of all merchant and naval shipping, and of air traffic, in the huge area it surveys.

Some military digests have said that *Project Advocaat* is directly linked to Washington and London, and informed sources believe that from these capitals come vital satellite photographs to make Vorster's picture complete.

Apart from South Africa's own limited defence needs, *Project Advocaat* forms an important part of the Pretoria Government's foreign policy thrust. Even if some western nations have publicly condemned apartheid and imposed restrictions on trade or arms traffic, *Advocaat* works quietly behind the scenes to nullify whatever effects these might have. It talks persuasively to military leaders in the west about Communist activities in the area around the Cape. It offers facilities which, quietly, the western military establishment feels bound to accept.

One of the ways in which South Africa has used *Project Advocaat* to forge new links – and to utilise whatever loopholes can be found to buy military equipment from ostensibly hostile nations – has been highlighted recently by the publication of a sheaf of photostats, handed first to the British Anti-Apartheid movement, and then to the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. Chaired by Nigeria's Edwin Ogbu.

When South Africa began working seriously on *Project Advocaat* in about 1970, it was decided that as much equipment as possible should be manufactured in the Republic; but clearly, much of the communications and surveillance brain centre would have to come from abroad. The Pretoria Government had two good European friends on whom she could – and did – reply: France, and West Germany (see AFRICA No. 45)

From this point, it was possible to infiltrate, quite legally, some way into the structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO): far enough, certainly, to save South Africa tens of thousands of pounds on the ordering of spare parts for *Project Advocaat* by finding out through the NATO computers the types and quantities of spares they were likely to need. Far enough also to become part of the NATO purchasing structure, which enabled Pretoria to take delivery of spares and components manufactured in countries as hostile as Denmark and the Netherlands.

South Africa discovered the NATO loophole with the help of the West German Ministry of Defence, and the firm of AEG-Telefunken, to whom Pretoria had awarded a lucrative contract.

NATO experts had evolved a system of coding defence equipment, allocating computer stock numbers to military or civil projects in NATO countries. The system was not classified as Secret or Restricted, and as NATO headquarters in Brussels admitted recently, it could be given freely to countries outside the Alliance.

"The countries can give it out to any one they want to who buys their own equipment," the NATO spokesman said.

Clearly, therefore, it was available to South Africa, following the AEG-Telefunken contract. But once the NATO defence equipment code became part of *Project Advocaat*, so did a number of other things, on a system of automatic progression. For instance, South Africa was given batches of blank NATO forms for Pretoria to fill in and use.

The NATO spokesman, denying that there was any news story in the entire affair, said he was not surprised that South Africa should be using forms printed by the Alliance, apparently for its internal use. He called the forms "just a piece of paper", and said they were widely available.

South Africa also received active assistance from the West German Defence Ministry – and although the exact scope of this is not yet known, it is believed that the Germans acted as middlemen, buying equipment from some unfriendly NATO countries and re-routing them to South Africa. However, from the photostat of a letter from AEG-Telefunken to the German army supply department, it is clear that, in 1970, a meeting was held at which the Defence Ministry agreed to "process" spare parts ordered for *Project Advocaat*.

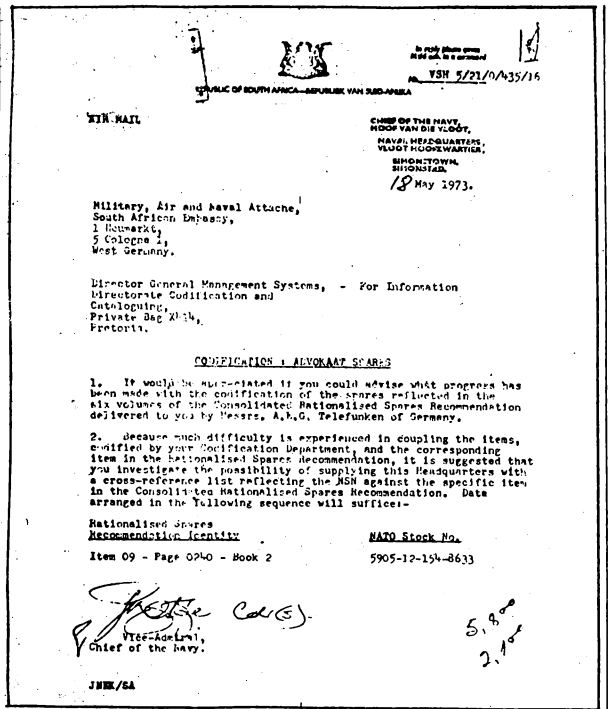
The letter referred to this meeting, and said that computer punch cards were being sent to the Ministry for processing. The letter added: "The coding department of the South African Embassy will receive a copy of this letter as well as a catalogue of the punch cards."

On the South African side, the office of the Chief of the Navy in Simonstown soon began experiencing difficulty in switching over to the new system, and on May 18, 1973, wrote to the Codification and Cataloguing Directorate about it. The problem was that the spares they were getting had two numbers: the ones originally allocated by AEG-Telefunken, and then the NATO stock numbers, and this was leading to confusion.

The letter suggested a change in codification which gave precedence to the NATO Stock Number; and simply a cross-reference to its factory identification.

In September last year, all problems had been ironed out and the success of *Project Advocaat's* initial stages, together with the new closeness in relations with the western military establishment, was giving Pretoria cause for self-congratulation.

The Minister of Defence told Parliament in Cape Town, that it was "a source of great joy" to him that "tremendous progress" had been made regarding the Cape sea route. He said: "This includes purchases as well as the acquisition of licences and knowledge in



VSN 5/21/0/435/16

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA—REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

YOUR REF.

CHIEF OF THE NAVY,
HOOF VAN DIE VLOOT,
NAVAL HEADQUARTERS,
VLOOT HOOFKWARTIER,
SIMONSTOWN,
SIMONSTAD.

18 May 1973.

Military, Air and Naval Attache,
South African Embassy,
1 Konrad,
5 Cologne 1,
West Germany.

Director General Management Systems, - For Information
Directorate Codification and
Cataloguing,
Private Bag X314,
Pretoria.

CODIFICATION : ADVOKAAT SPARES

1. It would be appreciated if you could advise what progress has been made with the codification of the spares reflected in the six volumes of the Consolidated Nationalised Spares Recommendation delivered to you by Messrs. A,B,G. Telefunken of Germany.

2. Because much difficulty is experienced in coupling the items, codified by your Codification Department, and the corresponding item in the Nationalised Spares Recommendation, it is suggested that you investigate the possibility of supplying this Headquarters with a cross-reference list reflecting the NSN against the specific item in the Consolidated Nationalised Spares Recommendation. Data arranged in the following sequence will suffice:-

Nationalised Spares Recommendation Identity	NATO Stock No.
Item 09 - Page 0040 - Book 2	5905-12-154-8633

Vice-Admiral,
Chief of the Navy.

JNHK/SA

Letter from Chief of the Navy to the Codification and Cataloguing Directorate about switching to Advocaat system.

respect of these matters which relate in particular to the surveillance and defence of our coast and the sea route round the Cape ... it would be irresponsible to furnish any particulars of these matters. And therefore I now want to make an earnest appeal to our newspapers not to start any speculation in this regard, for speculations are the greatest evil we have to contend with."

The photostats of documents provide a fair amount of hard evidence on which speculations can be built, for they prove beyond doubt that into *Project Advocaat* has gone equipment from Holland, France, the United States of America, Denmark and Britain. Curiously, no photostats are available for equipment manufactured in West Germany itself, the country whose private enterprise organisations originally landed the contract. Presumably, these photostats exist in other files in Pretoria and the Danube town of Ulm, where AEG-Telefunken has its headquarters.

The photostats do not make it clear whether the Germans acted as middle-men for the South Africans, but the implication certainly is that they did. NATO Form AC/135 is designed merely for codes, and from the specimens available we learn that the code for *Project Advocaat* is V29C. The forms make no specific mention of the countries of manufacture, beyond a two-figure code in columns 12 and 13. However, a helpful NATO source in Brussels confirmed that the codes referred to NATO nations. Number 17, for example, was Holland, 14 was France, 00 was the USA, 22 was Denmark, and Britain was code 99.

The photostats refer to equipment received in Pretoria around September 1973, and are presumably only a tiny part of the vast array of components and spares needed to maintain *Project Advocaat*. On one sheet, Denmark was shown as having provided 22 separate pieces of equipment, although a spokesman for the Danish Government said later that no authorisation had been given for any military communications equipment to be sent out to South Africa. I understand that an investigation is under way to decipher the computer numbers for the various components, and so track down the particular companies which manufactured them and ask for explanations.

But a NATO spokesman in Brussels probably put his finger on what had happened. "If a German contractor orders some equipment from an electronics firm in another country, then that firm can't be expected; in a free market economy, to verify what the equipment will be used for," he said. "This is a fact of life in a free market economy. Private firms vie with each other to get private contracts."

"But I must stress that this would be entirely a bilateral matter. NATO doesn't come into it in any way at all. NATO has no control over it." From the computer numbers themselves, there's no indication of precisely what equipment was delivered to South Africa, although because as much as possible was being manufactured locally, it can be safely assumed that the forms aren't referring to nuts and bolts, but to sophisticated products of high technology.

Disclosure of the South African links with he NATO system – however legal and indirect the Alliance's headquarters might claim them to be – caused the expected anger in British Labour Party circles.

The fact is, however, that these feelings of opposition are not shared in some government circles, in many Whitehall corridors, or in the Ministry of Defence at all. The situation is similar in America. In the UN Security Council on June 3 this year, the US Delegate, Mr. Scali, protested that his country's record regarding an arms embargo of South Africa was one "of which he American people can be proud".

Scali said: "For 12 years, the United States Government has voluntarily refused to allow shipments of American arms and military equipment to South Africa. Our Government has done this as a matter of principle. We do so out of conviction and not because we are required to do so by an international forum. If others wish, they can join us in such a voluntary policy, and we earnestly invite them to do so."

The photostats, however, show that 28 pieces of US equipment were delivered to Pretoria for *Project Advocaat*, and shortly after making his speech, Mr. Scali, on behalf of the US Government, together with Britain and France, vetoed a resolution calling for a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. ■

"THE TALKS OF THE EKD WITH INVESTING FIRMS SHOULD BE ENDED IMMEDIATELY"

Commentary on the Statement by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Beyers Naudé of March 10th, 1976

(Gerhard Grohs, professor of sociology at the Free University of Berlin and at the University of Mainz, is the chairman of the Advisory Commission ("Kammer") of the EKD for Development Affairs and a member of the Central Committee of the World of Churches. - Ed.)

On August 24th, 1972 the Chairman of the Council of the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD) approached a number of German industrial firms maintaining subsidiaries in South Africa, in order to enter with them into discussion as to how those firms could contribute towards a decrease of tensions and better conditions of life of black and coloured workers by introducing additional social reforms in their establishments. This step was taken by the Council of the EKD in an attempt to offer an alternative strategy to the stop of foreign investments in South Africa called for by the World Council of Churches. The Council of the EKD based its move in particular on the voice of those black South African Christians who deemed the disadvantages of an investment stop to be greater than its effectiveness for a change of the apartheid policy of the South African government. In his report to the EKD Synod in Bremen (January 1973) the Chairman of the Council of the EKD pointed out that the Council would stand by its divergent attitude in respect to the boycott resolutions of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches and that talks would be held.

The discussions with industry obviously progressed at a slow pace, in spite of proposals "for the improvement of the economic situation of the black and coloured workers" which meanwhile the Council had requested a newly established South Africa Commission to work out. Also discussions with the Board of the Federation of German Trade Unions (DGB) were initiated. This meeting at least resulted in a statement of the Federation and EKD against further immigration of European employees to South Africa (dated Nov. 19th,) 1973; see epd-Entwicklungspolitik 2/74, p.6-8); this statement was confirmed by the Council's South Africa commission at its meeting on May 23rd, 1975. The Annual Report of the EKD for the year 1974/75 mentions that a meeting with representatives of industry was to take place to discuss the establishment of a foundation for the promotion of training of black workers in which both EKD and industrial firms would participate and for which the South African Council of Churches was to take on administrative responsibility. These talks, which commenced on February 20th, 1975, finally failed because the industrial representatives had reservations about the fund's administration through the

South African Council of Churches which is under critical review by the South African government.

Meanwhile, the EKD Synod became impatient and took the following decision at its meeting in Kassel in January 1974: "The Synod requests the Council of the EKD to arrange an evaluation conference after conclusion of the first phase of the talks of the EKD with representatives of German firms in South Africa, and to include participation from the Synod in this evaluation. The purpose of the conference is to present the hitherto existing results of the talks as well as the views of industry, the trade unions and the EKD and to prepare proposals on future procedure for the autumn 1974 meeting of the Synod." To this date - March 1976 - this resolution has not been implemented. Neither did an evaluation conference take place, nor have concrete proposals been worked out as to the next steps to be taken following the failure of the plans for the training fund. The absence of an evaluation conference was criticized by several members of the EKD Synod already at its meeting of November 1974 in Berlin-Spandau.

In view of the fact that to this date no evaluation conference on the talks with the firms that began in 1972 has been held and that the talks, in spite of their failure hitherto, have not been abandoned, one cannot invalidate the reproach that the firms were successful in keeping the EKD through delaying tactics from following the call for a boycott of investments in South Africa repeated by the World Council of Churches at its Fifth Assembly in Nairobi in 1975. The EKD has de facto given an alibi to the industrialists for their investments. Until now the Council of the EKD was able to refer back to the hesitant attitude about measures of boycott taken by even such institutions as the Christian Institute of South Africa. The Statement of the director of the Christian Institute, Beyers Naudè, and of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi now in hand takes from the Council of the EKD the last justification for the unsuccessful talks with the firms. These discussions have become senseless. Beyers Naudè and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who so far took the view, also vis á vis their African critics, that in the end the consequences of a stop of investments would be settled on the back of the black people, revised their opinion following the experiences they made during the past years. If the Council and the Synod of the EKD, who have hitherto been consistent in their view that the apartheid policy is inhuman and cannot be justified on the basis of the Gospel, do not change their viewpoint now and end the talks with the firms immediately, their entire South Africa policy will become discreditable.

NAMIBIA AT THE CROSSROADS

by Dr. J. Lukas de Vries

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in South-West Africa

This report intends to cover the period of the last six months of Namibian development both on the political and the church level. Since 1975 there has been a new development in Namibia towards independence. This development has been influenced by several factors:

a) The So-called "Constitutional Conference"

The South African government introduced this program in the beginning of 1975 under its own auspices. The Constitutional Conference is intended to establish a future government for an independent Namibia. As you know, a delegation from this conference visited the USA, Britain and the Republic of Germany to present the aims of these talks to the world. Although South Africa and especially the Prime Minister had said, that South Africa would not direct the Constitutional Conference, it became very clear from the beginning that South Africa was doing everything it could to work the Namibian situation to its own advantage.

For six months now the Conference has tried to work out a future program. After the delegation returned from overseas the leader of the National Party of South West Africa, Mr. du Plessis suddenly joined the Constitutional Conference. At that moment it became clear to us that the previous leader Mr. Dirk Mudge had gone too far with his political compromises. In some circles, even in the white population, the coming of Mr. du Plessis caused disappointments. For the Namibian population it became clear that the South African government wanted power in the Constitutional Conference and that the so called 'detente-policy' was only a cosmetic way of misleading the Namibian population. The coming of Mr. du Plessis gives evidence of the division in the Conference itself. Some of the delegates were ready to leave the Constitutional Conference when they recognized that the South African government would not allow a free and independent decision if it caused the total rejection of the South African government.

In a declaration made by the Federal Party it was clearly said that the Constitutional Conference would not properly answer the wishes of the Namibian people. This may bring about the breakdown of the Constitutional Conference. It was clearly stated that South Africa would not have any other choice but to leave Namibia and take up negotiations with SWAPO and the MPLA. Furthermore, it was made

clear that the whites could not count on a white-dominated government for the future of Namibia. In fact, they would not have any other choice but to accept black majority rule in a one-man one-vote system.

Thus I can conclude that either the Constitutional Conference will break up in the near future or it will have to be organized so that the political parties under the umbrella of the NNC can take part. If they do not do this, the Constitutional Conference will not provide any solution as far as the future of Namibia is concerned.

b) Crisis in Angola

As reported in many newspapers throughout the world, the MPLA will be the future government of Angola*. It has already received recognition from all over the world. This fact will cause great problems for the South African government. Although the MPLA has declared that it will not fight against the South African army, it clearly stated that it will not allow intervention on the part of South Africa.

The question is always asked: what consequences will the crisis in Angola have in Namibia? Although the Namibian people cannot easily accept a Communist-ruled country, they will be happy if the Angolan people achieve independence under the rule of the MPLA. A stream of refugees from Angola is going through Namibia at the moment. The Namibian people care for these refugees. As a sign of their humanitarian attitude, the people of Namibia even gather money to help these refugees from Angola. We hope and pray that the crisis in Angola will speed up development in Namibia so that Namibia will also become independent in the very near future.
*Now the government. Ed.

c) The Role of Political Parties

I already mentioned the role of NNC as an umbrella organisation for the political parties. Under the auspices of this organisation five political parties are united to form one front against the South African policy. The Namibia National Convention has taken a firm stand against the Constitutional Conference. In a press statement on January 28, 1976 they made it clear that the disunity was caused by the South African government supported by its paid stooges in the homelands in Namibia. The Congress of the NNC therefore resolved:

1. to enter into dialogue with all other forces that are genuinely seeking the liberation of Namibia from foreign domination;

2. to unite more and more people in the NNC, in order to eradicate all possibilities of blood-shed and the strife for leadership, and to present a common front to the enemy;

3 to continue to preach the gospel of unity and the necessity thereof to all Namibians.

The Congress furthermore said in connection with the Constitutional Conference: this Congress is "noting with great concern a) the unrepresentative constitution of the so-called "Constitutional Summit"; b) the lack of any signs of good faith from the illegal government of South Africa in Namibia, in the creation of a conducive atmosphere for any talks; c) the double-talk of government officials and politicians on the future of Namibia; d) the continuation of the doctrine of "divide et impera," in defiance of local and world opinion on this matter; e) South Africa's defiance of UN resolutions on Namibia; f) the continuation of homeland policies despite extensive opposition from the Namibian people.

The Congress therefore resolved :a) to reject the Constitutional Talks as a means to the entrenchment of the rights and privileges of the White minority at the expense of the vast majority of the Black people; b) to reaffirm the stand taken by the NNC the previous year; c) to expose these talks as a farce, as yet another tactic to win time, so that South Africa can dig itself fairly firm in Namibia; d) to communicate the contents of this resolution to the UN, OAU and other concerned organisations.'

In connection with the Angola crisis, the Congress of the NNC noted with great concern the unnecessary manslaughter in Angola due to foreign intervention, and the consequences thereof for Namibia. The Congress however recognized the right of the Angola people to self-determination and independence. It furthermore condemned all foreign intervention in Angola. It said "Africa will have to solve its own problems without foreign intervention by powers who are interested in spreading their spheres of influence".

The NNC expressed its thankfulness for the political involvement of the churches, especially of the Lutheran churches. It affirmed its loyalty to the church and plainly stated that the aim of the NNC would be to fight for justice and reconciliation. The church recognizes its responsibility for justice and reconciliation. The church recognizes its responsibility not only towards the NNC but also towards all other political parties not yet members of the NNC. The church further recognizes its task of acting as mediator between the different fronts. It also recognizes that perhaps it has not done enough to support organisations like the NNC and SWAPO. But I think this question will be taken up in the discussions in the church in the near future.

The role of SWAPO in Namibia in connection with the NNC was clearly stated at a press conference in Windhoek during January 1976. SWAPO in Namibia stated: "There have been confusing remarks in the

news media trying to drive a wedge of disunity between the NNC, as an umbrella organisation, and SWAPO, as a member thereof. SWAPO wants to clarify that she is a committed member of the NNC and should not be excluded from this body. SWAPO maintains close links with all the organisations opposed to the South African occupation of Namibia."

In connection with the Constitutional Conference SWAPO declared: "Our rejection of the Turnhalle 'Constitutional Talks' stems from our principles. The following are the reasons:

a) Part-taking in national politics as we are, and rejecting any ethnic orientation in our politics, we do not see our way open to join in an ethnically-orientated constitutional discussion.

b) Our struggle is for a unitary state. We cannot agree on an ethnic federation when in fact we want to move away from the obsession with race."

What does SWAPO in Namibia really want?

1. South Africa must publicly accept the right of the Namibian people to independence and national sovereignty.

2. South Africa must publicly announce that the Namibian territorial integrity, is absolute and not negotiable in any quarter.

3. All political prisoners must be released, including Herman ya Toivo and many other leaders and colleagues on Robben Island and elsewhere.

4. All political exiles, of whatever political organisation, must be allowed freely to return to their country without fear of arrest or victimization.

5. South Africa must commit herself to the removal of her police and army and stop using Namibia as a base for aggression in Angola.

6. Any constitutional talks on Namibia can take place under United Nations supervision, aimed at the holding of free elections in Namibia under UN supervision and control.

d) The Trial at Swakopmund

At this very moment six persons are on trial in Swakopmund. They were arrested by the South African government under article 2 (1) A. In brief, this article makes it an offence to commit any act anywhere with the intent "to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the

Republic or any portion thereof; or to attempt to conspire, incite, instigate, command, aid, advise, encourage or procure the commitment of such act. "The acts are enumerated in article 2(2). Article 3 makes it an offence "to harbour, conceal, or render assistance to terrorists", i.e. those who violate article 2. Minimum sentence is 5 years, with no parole or suspension; maximum is death.

Mushimba is accused of supplying R380, a radio and blankets to, and purchasing a landrover for a person who in turn handed them over to persons whose aim was to overthrow the SWA Administration.

Nangolo is accused of purchasing a landrover for a person who in turn handed it over to persons whose aim was to overthrow the SWA Administration.

Shikongo the sole Catholic, is accused of providing transport to 3 persons, knowing that they intended either to abduct or cause bodily harm to Elifas. These people, either alone or with others, later murdered Elifas.

Nambinga is accused of giving R10 to a person who in turn handed it over to persons whose aim was to overthrow the SWA Administration, and of visiting people in Angola whose purpose was to overthrow the SWA Administration, and of supplying one of them with a dress, soap and sanitary napkins, of collecting R10 each from two people (Anna Hashela and Olivia Mbangula) in order to hand it over to persons whose aim was to overthrow the SWA Administration.

Nombowa is accused of giving R10 to a person to supply to persons whose aim was the overthrow of the SWA Administration.

Nghihondjwa is accused of giving R10 to a person to supply to persons whose aim was the overthrow of the SWA Administration.

The case up until now looks very dangerous for six accused. I spoke to the lawyers in Swakopmund on Wednesday last week, and they did not give me any hope concerning the people accused. I observed one of the court sessions presided over by the Judge Strijdom, and one could sense from the atmosphere of the court room that in no way was the judge or the prosecutor trying to find anyone innocent, but that they wanted to prove these people guilty. Rauna Nambinga, one of the nurses, is in a very dangerous position since some of the nurses of the hospital gave evidence against her. Hendrik Shikongo is also in a very dangerous situation. At first our lawyers thought that he might receive the death sentence. But since then they heard from the prosecutor, that he will not ask for a death sentence in any of these cases. He will request instead a harsh jail sentence, as long as 25 years or even life. So, all six are in a dangerous situation. We can only hope

that the case for their defence will be so clearly stated that they will get lighter sentences than the judge and the prosecutor are seeking.

We had a very very great disappointment with one of the members of SWAPO, in fact the Secretary of SWAPO Sam Shivute. He totally broke down in prison, and he gave such dangerous testimony in court, that it is quite clear that he had already been psychologically broken by the time he came into court.

One of the nurses who testified against the six people was quite obviously under very great pressure. Another even broke down during the trial as she was being cross-examined by Dr. Cooper. She was then taken out of court, weeping like a little child. The next day I was there when she again appeared in court, but she had a very different attitude. She appeared very calm, and Dr. Cooper could not get through to her. She was really withdrawn, and we assumed that she had been worked on the night before by the police and by the prosecutor himself, because she said that the prosecutor was the last visitor she had had the evening before.

Dr. Cooper, Dr. Berger and Mr. DuPreez are working day and night, but their situation is very difficult. They are not told in advance what evidence the State plans to introduce. They are not allowed to see witnesses for the prosecution until they appear in court. Nor are they allowed to know in advance who the State will call as witness. In fact, they are not even told what accusations the State plans to make. Therefore, as each witness is called in, our lawyers must request a delay in the trial in order to decide how best to proceed. So I can only say that they need our prayers in this situation. Not only the accused need our prayers but also people like Sam Shivute who now stands really isolated in Namibia having even been rejected by SWAPO. Those people will have a very lonely road to go because they testified against their own people in court. It is one of the great difficulties of this trial of Swakopmund that not only those who are now on trial will be judged but also those who gave evidence before the court: They are also in great danger of being denied and rejected by their own people.

e) The Role of the Church

I think we have now come to the point where we should think a little about the role of the Church in such a challenging situation, as the situation in Namibia.

As I said before, the Church in Namibia must play the role of a mediator between the fronts and the political parties. This is not a very easy task. But it is very possible that in this role the Church can be seen as a neutral Church. As you know, the Church in Namibia sees

neutrality in the light of the New Testament. That is why the Church in its theological thinking has come to the conclusion that the Church should be the **Church for all,** even for those called the 'collaborators of the government' or the 'stooges of the government'.

This new position of the Church in Namibia has made it possible for the Church to be trusted by political parties. It is a well-known fact that since 1971 the date of the Open Letter the Church has become more and more a partner in dialogue with the political parties and organisations. This is why I feel that in this challenging situation the Church should give the guidelines not only for a theological discussion, but also those for a political one. This is the point where "black theology" comes in. In my understanding this new way of African thinking, the "black theology", represents an invitation to the white population of Namibia and South Africa to open their doors to the thinking of the black man. I said in a paper in one of your documents: "The Church in Southern Africa has for years been burdened with an imported theology by which black Christians had become slaves of imperialism."

Western theology has given no solution to the problems of the population of Southern Africa and Namibia. The people of this country have been misled by concepts which arose from either Western philosophy or Western theology and which have been useless to us in our situation. This has stunted the spiritual growth of the black man and robbed him of his initiative, so that he has become an obedient, religious slave to be exploited and discriminated against in the cruelest way, brought up, under the aegis of Western theology, to inferiority and slavery. He has been taught discriminatory laws. After all, does it not say in the Bible 'be subject to the authorities'?

For this reason the development of black theology has become the Church's new answer to the problems of the future of Namibia. Black theology became a reality in Namibia as a protest against the distorted version of white theology which had robbed the black man of his own identity and made him a trampled image of God. Western theology has lost the power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Western theology is one sidedly directed towards the spiritual freedom of man which teaches obedience and the conversion of the heart, and which neglects liberation from the circumstances and manifestations of slavery. Liberation and salvation in the Bible refer not only to the liberation of the soul, but also to the person as a whole, body and soul. Black theology strives to help the black man gain his identity, be proud of his blackness and overcome his inferiority complex. In this way the church has drawn nearer to the black man in Namibia.

This could also widen the distance between black and white theology. Black theology is seen by the South African set-up as communism,

terrorism, Marxism, and so on. In this situation the Church not only has to preach the Gospel freely to the black man, but the Church also has a mission to the white man in the country of Namibia. I would furthermore say that this is not only the prophetic role of the Church but also the Biblical task given to the Church by its Master. On the new discovery of black theology and identity, the Church now has the opportunity to bring forth a new basis for dialogue with the white man in this country.

Furthermore, it has the opportunity to take up a new dialogue between the black and the white political parties. The Church cannot in any way reject a political party, it must also see the white political parties in the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That should be the first challenging work of the Church in Namibia. The second challenge for the Church in Namibia lies in the development of a political theology. This political theology should be the foundation for guidelines for all political parties. In this situation the Church has a certain responsibility to SWAPO, NNC and the Okahandja Summit, namely the responsibility of uniting political parties in one group or organisation.

We have talked already about the role of the NNC. I feel that the NNC can only work effectively if the Church stands behind this organisation preaching not only reconciliation and freedom, but also preaching the Gospel in the light of the life of the people of Namibia. Thirdly, there is the question of the responsibility of the Church towards the Constitutional Conference and the people involved. I still believe that these members of the Church, now collaborating with the South African government, are within the sphere of responsibility of the Church itself.

Furthermore, the Church in this situation should not forget its place in the world community. The Church in Namibia is not an isolated member of the body of Christ, but is in fact a part of the body of Chirst in the whole world. That is why we believe that the responsibility of the Church in Namibia should go beyond the borders of Namibia into the world of today. Here lies the political and theological responsibility of the Church. The Church should be, as it is for our exiled congregation in Lusaka, the Church for the people in exile. And that means not only the spiritual congregation but also the political congregation in exile.

In my opinion it is the task of the Church to give its assistance wherever it is needed beyond the borders of Namibia. The Church should be willing to speak to organisations like SWAPO, SWANU and others in exile. The Church should also assure them of its trustworthiness. That is why I feel that in this very difficult situation the Church in Namibia has the character of the Universal Church of Jesus Christ, i.e. the responsibility of the Church goes further than the boundaries of Namibia - it goes to the whole world.

f) Inter-racial Church Unity

Here the relationship between the UELCSWA and the German Lutheran Church comes in. The question was asked: Has the UELCSWA as a black church any responsibility towards the white German Church in Namibia? I would say "yes". This responsibility is the prophetic task of the Church in Namibia. That means for me that the word of Jesus should also be brought into the German Evangelical Lutheran Church.

Before we go into the matter of the German Evangelical Church I would like to say two things concerning this church as seen from the viewpoint of the UELCSWA. The talks that were proposed by the UELCSWA was a decision of the Synod and this decision will not be taken back by any decision made by the Church board of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. Secondly, we are not willing to be pressed by the partners of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church overseas, that is the Evangelical Church in Germany and its Office for Foreign Affairs in Frankfurt.

Nor will we alter our decision that partners of the UELCSWA are necessary for these talks with the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. The German Evangelical Lutheran Church asked that there be preliminary talks before the real discussion about its decision takes place. This request was refused by the UELCSWA Church Board, because we saw no reason why we should have talks beforehand. We have made our theological differences very clear to the German Evangelical Lutheran Church and we are not in a position to take back anything we said at the Synod of the UELCSWA.

I intend now to make two closing comments concerning this matter:

1. The Synod of the UELCSWA has already decided to accept the German Evangelical Lutheran Church as a member of the UELCSWA and had mandated to the Church Board of UELCSWA to accept the GELC as soon as the GELC has made a decision.

2. In April last year this decision was already made by the Synod of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. At an extraordinary meeting of a so called working Synod in October, this question was taken up again without prior notification of the Church Board of the UELCSWA. So, as I understand it, we are only interested in the theological differences between the UELCSWA and the German Evangelical Lutheran Church as expressed by the UELCSWA. If no clarification is forthcoming, the Church Board of the UELCSWA has the mandate not to accept the German Evangelical Lutheran Church as a member of the UELCSWA.

Furthermore, I can only see these developments in the light of South African policy. If they are known to the government—and I think they are—I have little hope that the partners invited by the UELCSWA will receive their visas to go to Namibia. In other words, I can only see this move on the part of the GELC as an endangerment of the talks. I do not think that the Church Board of UELCSWA will be willing to withdraw its decision to ask partner organisations like the Lutheran World Federation and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany, to take part in these clarifying talks with the German Evangelical Lutheran Church.

Finally, I would like to go into the question of the Evangelical Church in Germany sending pastors to Namibia. Earlier it was said that if the Church in Germany would send pastors to the GELC, it would have made a decision against the UELCSWA. By appointing two German pastors recently to serve in Namibia, the Evangelical Church in Germany has obviously chosen to stand on the side of the GELC, because we asked that pastors not be sent until clarification came between the GELC and the UELCSWA. I feel that since the Church in Germany decided to send more pastors to the German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, the Church in Germany must now give a clear answer to the question of the Church in Namibia: 'Are you with us, or not?'

Mr. Chairman, I want to close this lecture under the topic 'A CHURCH OF PRAYER". In a circular written to the congregation of UELCSWA for the year 1976 I called the congregation of UELCSWA together in prayer under the watchword:,

> Guide me, O Lord,
> that I may be true to Thee and follow Thy path;
> (Ps 86:11)

This is a cry for help from the depths of a despairing heart - a heart which sees a dark future ahead; which is aware of a difficult and dangerous road ahead, but which also knows that the only true way is not to be learned from people, but from the Lord. That does not mean to say that the way of the Lord will be easier, for God often leads us through deep and dark valleys of pain, misery, disappointment and incomprehensible setbacks. But at the end of the Lord's path joy upon joy awaits us. Therefore it is better to seek the Lord's protection than to trust in men.

This year will also be a year of distress, persecution and suffering for our Church. This year God will again lead us through depths and darkness. But let us be assured: if we ask Him to show us His way, then already the eternal light, which is God Himself, shines at the end of this dark road.

I would like to call on all the members of the Lutheran family to join the Namibian congregations in their cry for help from the depths of their hearts.*

**This paper was presented by Dr. J. Lukas de Vries, President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southwest Africa, at the International Namibia Consultation, Wuppertal, Germany (FRG), March 4–6, 1976. The consultation was sponsored by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southwest Africa and the Lutheran World Federation.*